than the Yemeni official looking for a regular income.

The imposition of *mukūs* and *majābī* or other taxes hits hardest of course at the ordinary townsman and farmer. The official and wealthy Yemenis, I am informed, had, and no doubt still have, ways of avoiding the full incidence of taxation. This medieval system is however tempered by charity, public and private, and not to be compared, even remotely, with the grinding oppression of the last years that takes place south of the Yemen Republic's border. My own guess would be that the strictly *sharī'ah* system of taxation, even if strictly operated, would not be sufficient, certainly today, to provide even a modest adequacy for the Government.[191]

Imām Yaḥyā's sources of income were the *zakāt*, the income (*al-ma'āsh*) he drew from the Treasury (Bayt al-Māl) and his private property. He would take money from the Treasury to buy a consignment of arms (*ṣafaqat silāḥ*), sell the arms, take the profit and return the principal to the Treasury. The trade in arms was confined to Imām Yaḥyā (*maḥṣūrah 'ala 'l-Imām Yaḥyā*). He also received *jizyat al-Yahūd* and votive offerings from the tribes (*al-nudhūr min al-qabā'il*). A tribesman would say, *'Law iddā lī Allāh walad nadhart li-'l-Imām ku'dah/tanakah samn*, If God gives me a boy I vow a jar/can (if rich) of ghee to the Imām.' Or if from a coffee-growing district he might say a *zinbīl qishr*. He would manage to get past the guards by saying he had brought a *nadhr* to the Imām—who would receive it, saying *'Aṣlaḥa-k Allāh'*. This happened more in the earlier than the later days of his reign.

The Watch-Tax

A notable feature of the *Qānūn* or Statute of Ṣan'ā' is the stipulations it lays down for the provision of watchmen and/or of fleece-lined coats, that the Yemeni wears to keep out the bitter night cold of part of the year, for the Watch. Already in Document A (Basic) this duty is laid on certain crafts or professions,[192] and it is extended in the Supplementary regulations. It is unlikely that any group provided actual coats, but only paid the levy for them in cash.

No mention is made of watch-tax to be paid by the Horse and Mule Market, Camel Market, Fodder Market, porters, wood-choppers, farriers, locksmiths, builders, potters, and certain demeaning trades in section 38 such as the barber, cupper, bathman, and cotton-carder[193]—this last included probably because it was largely, it might even have been exclusively, a Jewish craft. The only reason that can be suggested for the apparent exemption of these trades is that they had nothing to guard or worth guarding.

The *Qānūn* specifies that watch duties, additional to the watch-tax, must be performed as the town requires, by the Silk Market, Oil and Ghee Market, Coffee Market, Tobacco and Black Tobacco Markets, Rope Fibre Market, Grain Market, Raisin Market, Grape and Fruit Market, Meat Markets and dealers, Firewood Market, Cattle and Donkey Market, dyers and butchers, Brass Market, Sandal and Shoes Market, Pottery and Ovens Market. Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is rather imprecisely required to pay what other Markets pay. The commission agents (*dallāl*) are only to pay for the Watch, no charge for coats being mentioned. The wax-smelters pay the wages of the Watch, but the Raisin Market has, in addition to paying for the coats and providing men for the Watch, to pay the Shaykh of the Watch, as does the Cattle and Donkey Market.

Some trades and professions have to provide neither men nor money for the Watch, apart from the fleece-lined coats. For an obvious reason, that they come under the protection of the Muslim community, neither do the Jews or Bāniyāns.

The Jews of Sūq 'Aqīl paid their separate contributions towards the coats for the Watch, but it can only be surmised that if they had premises elsewhere and practised a craft assessed for watch-tax, they paid as ordinary Muslim members of the craft did. There is at least no statement to the contrary. If the document curtly referred to in section 2 as *al-Umm*[194] should contain a full and detailed set of provisions for the Watch duties and tax, as I think was probably the case, this question may have been dealt with there. Perhaps in the Cloth Market where each *'ashīrah* paid a fixed contribution, one *'ashīrah* might have been Jewish. On the other hand as the Bāniyāns are assessed as a single group the Jews may have also been assessed in the same way.

In the table that follows two contributions are relatively large, those of the Jews and Bāniyāns. This is doubtless in part to be related to the size of the Jewish community working in Ṣan'ā'—the Jewish population of the city being estimated by Niebuhr[195] at 2,000, by Cruttenden[196] at 3,000, and in the present century even as high as 10,000. Niebuhr gives the Bāniyāns as about 125, and on the face of things they paid more than the undoubtedly far larger Jewish group in Sūq 'Aqīl.

Distribution of Watch Duties and Taxes in Ṣan'ā' Markets

Market	Watch duties	Tax	Collection charge
Cloth Market, each family[197]	Watch duties with	32	1
wholesalers	pay for the Watch	24	1 1/2
individuals		11	1/4
Ḥaḍramī Cloth Market	Watch duty	16 1/2	1
Commission agents	Pay for the Watch[198]	34	2 1/8
Wax-smelters	Wage for Watch	5	2
Silk Market	Watch duties	3	1/2
Sūq al-Ḥalaqah	Pay as others	15	2
Oil and Ghee Market	Watch duties	41 1/2	2 1/2
Coffee Husk Market	Watch duties	15	2
Tobacco Market	Watch duties	22 1/2	1 1/2
Black Tobacco Market	Watch duties	10	1/2
Rope Fibre Market	Watch duties	3 1/2	1/4
Grain Market	Watch duties	13	11/16
Salt Market	Watch duties	2 1/2	1/8
Raisin Market	Watch duties, pay Shaykh of Watch	5	1/4
Henna Market		2 1/4	1/8
Qāt Market		3	1/4
Grape and Fruit Market	Watch duties	7	1
Meat, Sheep-and-Goat Market	Watch duties	32	2
Firewood Market	Watch duties	1/4	1/8
Cattle and Donkey Market	Watch duties, pay Head of Watch	9 1/2	1
Dyers and Butchers	Watch duties	3 1/8	?
Scarves Market		12 1/4	1/8
Tailors		5 1/2	5/8
Saddlers		8 1/2	?
Bakers		15/16	?
Coffee-Inns		1 1/4	1/8
Warehouse-keepers		9	1/2
Blacksmiths' Market		2 1/2	1/8
Carpentry Market		3 1/2	1/2
Gun-stock Makers	For the Watch	3/4	1/8
Brass Market	Watch duties	1 1/2	1/8
Sandal and Shoemakers' Market	Watch duties	6 1/2	1/2
Jews of Sūq 'Aqīl		44	2 3/4
Hindu Bāniyāns		56 1/2	3 1/2
Pottery, Ovens, Market	Watch duties	7/8	1/8
	Total	347 3/16	25 15/16

191 Professor Hans Kruse's current study of *zakāt* documents in Ṣan'ā' should presumably place us in a better position to comment on the whole taxation problem.

192 The Ḥaḍramī Cloth Market, Wax-smelters, Silk Market, Sūq al-Ḥalaqah, Henna Market, Coffee-Inns.

193 See p.228a. Nowadays however this craft is carried on by Muslim Ṣan'ānis and seems to have the same status as any other work.

194 This is probably to be identified with the document alluded to at the end of section 1, kept by the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh and issued by the *ḥākim*.

195 *Description*, I, 336.

196 *Journey from Mocha to Ṣan'a*, 285. Cruttenden's figure seems to refer to the artisans, i.e., the adult males, and one should probably take Niebuhr's figure in the same sense.

197 Ar. *'ashīrah*.

198 I.e., the tax in col. 3. is for the Watch.

To the totals above would have to be added what the Cloth Market pays, but since the payments required of it as a whole are not specified but only what individuals or groups must contribute, this is not possible. In two cases above the tax paid is specifically stated to be for the Watch, not for the fleece-lined coats, but this might simply be careless wording. There seems to be no consistency in the rate charged for collection as between one market and another.

Al-Sayāghī[199] points out that the Municipality (Baladiyyah) has recently introduced garries (*qārī*, pl., *qawārī*) to cart away sweepings from the markets and the streets—this is an arrangement not known to the *Qānūn*. To pay for this service the Municipality has imposed a new tax, and the two imposts for the upkeep of both garries and watch are known as '*Qawārī wa-jurum*.' When I saw *qāt* branches and leaves being collected by individuals in the Market I was a little surpised to learn that these are not considered rubbish, but are fed to animals.

199 Preface to his *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 278.

Chapter 12
The Market, Business Life, Occupations, the Legality and Sale of Stimulants

Proverbs and the Market

The markets in the Yemen are said to be the property of the people of the villages (*mamlūkah li-ahl al-qurā*) at which they are held, but in the literature one notices that markets were very often under the protection of a tribal lord. Al-Wāsi'ī[1] maintains that the Yemen, throughout the whole country, follows Ṣan'ā' prices with regard to the cheapness or expensiveness of commodities, and that the same is true of the rains, if they are abundant over Ṣan'ā' then the whole country enjoys good rains, but if scanty then it suffers with the capital.

The first essential for a market is security, for if there is fighting in the sūq 'the pottery-sellers get the shit (*al-ḍarb fi 'l-sūq wa-'l-kharā 'ind al-maddārīn*)'—their pots which are exposed for sale lying in heaps in the open street get smashed in the melée. A Baraṭ proverb runs, 'Fighting with long knives but not battling in the markets (*ḍarb al-sabāyik wa-lā dahjah fi 'l-aswāq*).' Some ulema hold that it detracts from one's honour to fight in the market.[2]

'The market is the store-house of a reliable man (in honouring his debts) (*Al-sūq mikhzān al-wāfī*).' If he wants to buy something from the market but has not got sufficient money merchants will readily give him credit. *Al-sūq abū marzūq*,[3] seems to mean that the market is a much better place in which to trade rather than to go peddling, and it contains everything. 'Do not ask about the price when you are coming to the market (*Lā tas'al 'an al-si'r wa-ant qādim min al-sūq*).'[4] Doubtless since it cannot be concealed, people say, 'The talk of the market can't be hidden in a box (*kalām al-sūq mā yitkhabbā fi 'l-ṣundūq*).' 'A mean/miserly man comes back from the market empty-handed (*Al-ḥādhiq yikhrij min al-sūq 'aṭal*).'[5]

Sūq al-Ḥalaqah

Al-Ḥalaqah[6] is described as 'the heart of the Market (*qalb al-Sūq*).' Closely associated with it is the little Mosque of 'Alī, said to be named after 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who became the fourth Caliph of Islam, and is stated by the early 10th/15th century historian of *Qurrat al-'uyūn* to have entered Ṣan'ā'.[7] The same source appears to be responsible for the tale that the lady Umm Sa'īd al-Buzrujiyyah[8] in whose house he lodged, became his first convert, demolished her house, and turned the site into a mosque. As however al-Rāzī,[9] writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century, knows neither the Mosque of 'Alī, nor any such story associated with this lady who belonged to the Persian Abnā' of Ṣan'ā', the association with 'Alī looks like a legend that developed in a much later age.[10] The Mosque of 'Alī seems to have some importance to the Fāṭimī-Ṭayyibīs. I have not found either the name al-Ḥalaqah nor yet what might be a description of it in al-Rāzī's history. Nevertheless the place itself has had some special significance for Ṣan'ānīs even if this be now forgotten, and the author of *al-Badr al-muzīl*[11] declares, 'It (the Mosque of 'Alī) is in the Sūq al-Ḥalaqah, and the people of Ṣan'ā' have a firm belief (*i'tiqād*) in the virtue (*faḍl*) of this mosque and in prayer in it. In this market called al-Ḥalaqah prayer (*du'ā'*) is accepted (*maqbūl*).'

In this market, he continues, china-ware (*ṣīnī*) of its various sorts is sold, and *kharaz*, i.e., miscellaneous small wares.[12] (I was told in 1972 that *kharaz* and *misqāṭah* second-hand goods are still sold there). The people of Ṣan'ā' believe (*ya'taqidūn*) that in those things there is good fortune (*barakah*) in this market. Any merchant (*tājir*) or vendor (*bā'i'*) who first of all engages in trading in such things in this market—his trading flourishes and he profits and gains—then he transfers to trading in the other markets.

Al-Ḥalaqah lies on the eastern edge of the hillock in Ṣan'ā' which may conceal the ruins of important ancient buildings. Old stones of some size have been dug up near it, and local people suggest it was a corner (*rukn*) of Ghumdān. It has certainly a central position not far from the Jāmi' Mosque and between it and the Mosque of 'Alī. Furthermore the small size of the mosque would indicate an old foundation. Was there possibly a

1 *Al-Badr al-muzīl*, 9.

2 Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished collection. A verse in *al-Badr al-muzil*, 8, runs, 'Let there be rain upon Ṣan'ā' for I know no land where perfume (*maḍnūn*) has settled which resembles it for pleasant life and safety (*khafḍ wa-amn*), etc.
Sabīkah (plur. *sabāyik*) is a long narrow dagger not used now except some in the Ṣa'dah region; it differs from the *jambiyyah*.

3 Both proverbs from Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished collection, but cf. *Jemenica*, 88, no. 589.

4 A Tihāmah version of the proverb. A variant is, *'Lā tinshid fi sūq ant wārid-uh/waṣṣāl minnuh.'* Cf. *Jemenica*, 72, no. 453, & 131, 962, *'Darāhim-ak wa-'l-sūq wa-lā ts'al makhlūq.'*

5 Both proverbs from Qāḍī Ismā'īl. Cf. *Jemenica*, 61, no. 359. *Ḥādhiq* = *bakhīl*.

6 See map, p.248. For a general description of the markets apart from sources quoted, see Nazīh, *Riḥlah*, I, 176, 255.

7 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 86, more cautious in the matter of details than 'Abd al-Wāsi' b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsi'ī, *al-Badr al-muzīl li-'l-ḥuzn*, Cairo, 1345 H., 9.

8 The editors of al-Rāzī, *Tārikh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, 78, 140, 294, vocalise the name thus, but Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, Ḥaydarābād, 1962, I, 255, Bazurj.

9 Loc. cit.

10 Could the Caliph 'Uthmān's governor of Ṣan'ā', Ya'lā b. Umayyah have in the course of time become 'Alī in the popular mind?

11 Loc. cit.

12 Al-Wāsi'ī says that elsewhere than in the Yemen *kharaz* is called *khurdawāt*.

sacred enclave associated in ancient times, even before Islam, with al-Ḥalaqah, meaning 'the Circle'?[13] Al-Ḥalaqah suggests circles of shop-keepers such as one sees in the late afternoon sitting outside the merchant city of Shibām of Ḥaḍramawt. One might speculate that it could have been the seat of a council of merchants or a sort of rudimentary commercial court even. Yet again it is in the centre, as it were, of a circle of markets. It is not far from Sūq al-'Arj to which the tribesfolk would come. It was in al-Ḥalaqah that the Jew[14] who shouted his challenge to the Castle in the days of al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn was executed—this was doubtless so that the affair would be published abroad and the Jews who worked in Sūq 'Aqīl close at hand would take heed.

In the 12th/18th century, as can be seen in Document Basic A, the administration of the Market was carried on from al-Ḥalaqah. Goods arrived there, they were recorded in the register and then were taken to the *samsarah* warehouses. Some of the big sales took place at al-Ḥalaqah. The *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* speaks of the Clerk (Kātib) of al-Ḥalaqah, at the present day (1972) 'Alī Muḥammad al-Akwa' who is described as Kātib al-Sūq, the Clerk of the Market, or the clerk who registers what arrives at the Market (*kātib al-wārid ila 'l-sūq*). Al-Ḥalaqah does not seem to have been a customs post, and at the present time the Gumruk of Ṣan'ā' is at Bāb al-Yaman.

Before the days of motor transport the movement into the Market was as follows. Goods were carried on camels and other animals to al-Mabrak[15] (the couching place) which is in the Grain Market (Sūq al-Ḥabb) and used to extend to al-Ḥalaqah. Then some twenty to twenty-five years ago (from 1972) the goods were carried from this point to Samsarat al-Mīzān, the Hostelry-Warehouse of the Scales, in which the Clerk of the Market, sometimes also called Kātib al-Mīzān had his station. There they were weighed to establish the wage for the hire of the camels (*kirā' al-jimāl*), there being a fixed charge payable on each *farāsilah*[16] (*'alā kull farāsilah shay mu'ayyan*). From the Samsarat al-Mīzān the goods were then borne by porters to the warehouses (*samāsir*), and the small retailers would purchase from these warehouses.

In former times the Samsarat al-Mīzān had all goods weighed in it, but now only coffee, bean and husk (*qishr*), and *tumbak* are weighed there. Near-by used to be the Raisin Market (Sūq al-Zabīb), now called Sūq al-Mikhlāṣ, in the 'Aqīl Quarter. Raisins are measured out by the *kayl*. In former days too, there were three places, it was said, through which imports came, Mocha, Hodeidah and Ḥaḍramawt by way of al-Mukallā, the old land-route by way of Ḥarīb, Mārib,[17] to Ṣan'ā'.

Nowadays goods coming to Ṣan'ā' from abroad will be taxed, if from Aden, at the well known frontier post at al-Rāhidah, or if by sea at Hodeidah, but a few local Yemeni commodities such as, e.g., grapes, will be taxed on coming in to the Ṣan'ā' Market. The lorries which have largely replaced the camel, not being able to park in the narrow streets in the middle of the Market now come in to the Maydān al-Qaṣr, the large open area in front of the Castle of Ṣan'ā'. They would be inspected there by Qāḍī 'Alī al-Akwa' when on this job, and he would *yuwaṣṣil-hā*, i.e., ascertain that what is on their manifest (*taṣdūr*)[18] corresponds with what is actually on the lorry, and if there should be anything additional it is impounded (*yuṣādar*).

It appears that the watchmen nowadays act as porters for it and it was stated that the *ḥāris* will transport the goods on a garry (*min fawq qārī/jārī*)[19] to whatever place the merchant wishes—i.e., not automatically to the *samsarah* warehouse as in previous times. This *ḥāris* will receive his wage for this, known as *ḥamālah*.[20] The garries are drawn by mules or donkeys and their wheels, tyres and axle are parts of old motor lorries. It may be remarked that Jeddah port in Saudi Arabia is very dependent on Yemeni drivers and their garries.

Qāḍī 'Alī b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Akwa' the clerk of commodities imported into Ṣan'ā' stated that his grandfather (*al-jīd* = *al-jadd*) held this post from about a hundred years ago, before the Turks took Ṣan'ā', and it came down in the family till he fell heir to the office. Before his grandfather Ismā'īl there is said to have been a certain Sā'id Sa'd in charge of it, but Qāḍī 'Alī knew nothing more of him than the name.

Middle-men—the *Dallāl* and the *Muṣliḥ*

The *dallāl* and *muṣliḥ* figure frequently in the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, the *dallāl* being a person who goes round the Market selling on commission—a commission agent—and the *muṣliḥ* a dealer who 'acts as a middle-man between the vendor and purchaser in evaluating the price of an article of merchandise.'[21]

Formerly each market and each craft (*ḥirfah*) had its own *dallāls* but the old system seems to be somewhat broken down, though in 1972 the Bayt Mu'īd and the Bayt al-Rafiq were still operating in the Tobacco Market, and Bayt al-Qarīdī in the Cloth Market (Sūq al-Bazz)—probably there were others also. The Ṣan'ānī *dallāl* goes round to the retailers and informs them that certain goods have arrived, and—do you want them, and how much of them do you want? He offers (*yu'riḍ*) them. Then he goes to the merchant whole-saler, the merchant states his price, and the *dallāl* returns to acquaint the retailer with it. If they arrive at an agreement the matter then lies between the merchant and the retailer, but the *dallāl* makes a note of the transaction and price—this will be like a *sanad*, a sort of record or receipt. The *dallāl* however handles no money, but, as can be seen from the *Qānūn*,[22] he was entitled to a commission fee from both vendor and purchaser of about 3.75 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively[23] on merchandise in general, though grain, cloth, and house-sales fetch a lower rate.

13 Cf. p.185b.
14 Cf. p.399a.
15 *Qānūn*, section 48. The Turkish map of Ṣan'ā' shows a part of the Castle of Ṣan'ā' marked as al-Manākh, i.e. the couching place of camels, but perhaps this would only be for camel transport devoted to military purposes.
16 A *farāsilah* is about 5 kilos.
17 For this route see C. F. Beckingham and R. B. Serjeant, 'A journey by two Jesuits from Dhufār to Ṣan'ā' in 1590', *Geographical Journal*, London, 1950, CXV, 206. There was of course an export of Yemeni wares to Ḥaḍramawt, and at Shibām and even Tarīm in 1947 one could buy raisins and almonds brought by camel caravan from eastern Yemen. Nazīh, *Riḥlah*, I, 217, reports a view that trade with Ḥaḍramawt, Najd and Hijaz, was greater formerly than today (the twenties), and (I, 291) the caravan route from Ḥaḍramawt ran via al-Bayḍā', Radā' and Dhamār to Ṣan'ā'.
18 Explained as *kashf li-mā fawq al-sayyārah*. It is rendered as 'covering note' in section 48 of the *Qānūn*.
19 Pl. *jawārī/qawārī*, the variant spellings to render the Indian word *gari*, in accordance with local pronunciation.
20 Explained as *ujūr al-naql*.
21 Qāḍī Ismā'īl—*alladhī yatawassiṭ bayn al-bā'i' wa-'l-mushtarī fi taqdīr al-thaman*. See also R. B. Serjeant, 'Notes on some aspects of Arab business practices in Aden', *Al-Bahit* (*al-Bāḥith*): *Festschrift Joseph Henniger*, Studia Instituti Anthropos, 28, St. Augustin bei Bonn-Fribourg, 1976, 309-15.
The Ṣan'ānī *muṣlih* seems in his function to be related to the 'people of *iṣlāḥ*' of al-Jāḥiẓ, the celebrated 3rd/9th century essayist, a sort of corporation closely linked by their profession, meeting together in the mosque like the Ṣan'ā' joiners (p.252b) and others. Jāḥiẓ described them, though not positively mentioning them as *ahl al-iṣlāḥ* (p. 24) as 'those who make a doctrine of economy in costs (*nafaqah* = of maintenance) and making much money, persons who amass and withhold, 'This tenet was with them like family relationship (*nasab*) which unites (people) in mutual affection and like a pact (*ḥilf*) which unites (people) in mutual support (*tanāṣur*). It was there habit when they met in their circles (*ḥilaq*) to discuss this subject and bandy questions with one another.' This resembles the circles of *dallāls* who sit outside Shibām of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt in the late afternoon discussing market business of the day. Cf. further *al-Bukhalā'*, 57, 92, 79, 112, and for *ṣulḥ*, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār* V, 94.
22 Cf. section 4.
23 Assuming the *qirsh* to be equivalent to forty *buqshahs*. Bā Makhramah's *Fatāwā*, fol. 182a, about the mid 10th/16th century, states that the fee of the *dallāl* and the *kayyāl* measurer, are payable by the vendor, but, naturally enough, the porter's fee is paid by the purchaser. This statement would apply to Aden and al-Shiḥr.

The retailer may himself in person carry back the goods he has purchased from the whole-saler to his shop—a roll or two of cloth for example—otherwise he may employ a porter as indicated in the *Qānūn*. Each week there is a settlement day for payment by the retailers of an instalment of the cost of the goods they have purchased from the large whole-sale merchant. In Ṣan'ā' this is the Thursday (*Yawm al-Khamīs*)—which appears to be the case also in most Yemenite towns. I have been told that prices show an easier trend on Thursday, and if so it would doubtless be for this reason. Reckoning is the soap of hearts (*Al-ḥisāb ṣābūn al-qulūb*) as the proverb goes—i.e. settling up helps to keep (business) relations smooth.[24]

The term *muṣliḥ*, translated as 'dealer', means literally a person who makes peace between two contending parties—a function well known in Islamic law and common in the Yemen and other Arab countries[25] as a cheaper and often far more satisfactory process than going to the courts. To quote Qāḍī Ismā'īl,[26] '*Al-ṣulḥ sayyid al-aḥkām*, Conciliation is the lord (legal) of decisions.' That is to say it is the best way of settling a dispute. On the other hand the *muṣliḥ*'s judgement (*ḥukm*) is not imposed on either of the two parties by force—as the proverb says, '*Sayf al-muṣliḥ min khazaj*,[27] The *muṣliḥ*'s sword is brushwood.' The *muṣliḥ* in fact, to judge by the *Qānūn*, would seem to do exclusively with produce of the tribes, or what tribesmen have to sell, animals such as sheep-and-goats, cattle, donkeys, horses, skins, jars, firewood, fodder, etc., and the word *muṣliḥ* itself is certainly reminiscent of the tribal mediator. The Ṣan'ānī *muṣliḥ* functions as the intermediary between the tribesman and the Market, rather like the Nuṣayr, Al-Qifayl, Āl Ḥam, Āl Bā 'Ashin, and other *dallāl* families of Shibām of Ḥaḍramawt—these families are intermediaries, selling and purchasing on behalf of particular tribes.

Each *qabīlī*, tribesman, bringing in (*jallāb, muwarrid*) produce to Ṣan'ā' goes to the *muṣliḥ*-dealer who has a shop (*dukkān*) and effects a sale on his behalf, i.e., deals or makes a bargain with the purchaser for him, all this of course in accordance with the statutes (*qawānīn*) of the Market. The importer has no part in haggling[28] over the price. The transaction is known as a *ṣulḥah*, a deal, and al-Sayāghī defines it as 'a mutual agreement (*tawāfuq*) between one person and another on the price of an article of merchandise', or 'mediation (*wisāṭah*) between vendor and purchaser'. So therefore it is proper to call a *muṣliḥ* a dealer or broker. Qāḍī Ismā'īl says that the term *'adl*, rendered as 'man of integrity', is actually a *muṣliḥ*-dealer acting as intermediary in concluding a bargain, but he is not a *dallāl*.

Although the *Qānūn* does not give any specific designation to persons settling the prices of commodities other than those mentioned above, the term *muṣliḥ* probably applies to those who settle the price of the other country products it discusses, since my informants have alluded to such as *muṣliḥīn fi 'l-'inab*, dealers in grapes and the like.

In Ṣan'ā', then, the *dallāl* may be said to deal in manufactured goods of a more or less sophisticated nature imported by merchants, whereas the *muṣliḥ* deals largely with the primary products of the tribesfolk around Ṣan'ā'.[29]

At the time of Nazīh . . . al-'Aẓm's[30] first visit to Ṣan'ā' the head (*ra'īs*) of the *dallāls* was Aḥmad 'Abdullāh 'Aṣdah, the Bayt 'Aṣdah being a well known family of Ṣan'ā' merchants.

The *dallāl* and his trickery are known to early Arabic literature, witness the saying, 'Everyone has a capital (*rās māl*) but the *dallāl's* capital is lying!'[31] The *ṣā'iḥ* and *munādī* with roughly similar functions to that of the *dallāl* are dealt with by the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī.[32] The *ḥisbah* or market-law literature treats the question of the *dallāl* along much the same lines as the *Qānūn*. There is, to take an example in point, a section in al-Shayzarī's[33] treatise on the *dallāl* and *munādī* in which the *dallāl* is forbidden to purchase on his own account, or to sell his own goods under the pretext of acting as intermediary for another. On showing the passage in question to my shaykh in Tarīm he remarked cynically that all the abuses al-Shayzarī mentioned are found in the Sūq there. Indeed Iblīs is held to have been the first *dallāl*![34]

Price-fixing (*tas'īr*)

Price-fixing (*tas'īr*) was an issue that attracted the attention of the early jurists of Islam, but the attitude of the two Zaydī Imāms who flourished in Daylam province at the south end of the Caspian Sea, and Ṣa'dah of the Yemen contemporaneously round about the end of the 3rd/early 10th century seems curiously inconsistent.

Uṭrūsh of Daylam in one of the earliest known treatises[35] on market law and public morality states that, 'The ulema of the Prophet's House (*ahl al-bayt*) have agreed by consensus of opinion that the Imāms may not fix prices (*yusa''irū*). The Prophet also forbade that a man should go out to intercept (*yastaqbil*) food (*ṭa'ām*)[36], commodity, or anything else until it enters the town (*balad*) when the people have need.' Uṭrūsh quotes the Tradition accepted by Sunnīs and Zaydīs alike, 'Do not fix prices, for God it is who fixes prices.'

The first Yemeni Imām, al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq[37] takes a rather different attitude. He occupied Ṣan'ā' for only the briefest of spells, but in Ṣa'dah, he would go round the (various) markets and streets, 'and he used to stop at those selling each commodity (*ahl kull biḍā'ah*) and order them not to adulterate their wares, ordering them to make them free of fraud (*tanqiyat-hā min al-ghashsh*), make clear (*tafṣīl*) what they were selling, and deliver what they were naming in full.[38] They said to him, "Is price-fixing not prohibited?" To which he replied, "Are not wrong and fraud prohibited?" "Yes, indeed," they answered. He said, "Those who fulfilled (their obligations) and behave uprightly (*ahl al-taqwā*) only, were prohibited from price-fixing, but when wrongful acts (*ẓulāmāt*) showed up in buying and selling (*buyū'*) it was the duty of God's chosen (*awliyā' Allāh*) to forbid all corrupt practice (*fasād*) and bring back justice to where they were found."'

In effect al-Hādī appears to over-rule the strong Traditions against price-fixing to impose his own ruling by right of his

24 So reports Qāḍī Ismā'īl. Another proverb runs, *'Duqq ḥisāb—tidūm ṣuḥbah*, with the sense that merchants must keep a clean account in order to remain friends.

25 E.g. al-Baḥrayn. Cf. my 'Fisher-folk and fish-traps in al-Baḥrain', *BSOAS* XXXI, iii, London, 1968, 487.

26 Another unpublished proverb he cites is, *'Al-riḍā sayyid al-aḥkām'* meaning that the best *ṣulḥ* is that achieved by mutual assent (*al-tarāḍī*). The saying is known in Najd and Kuwait.

27 *Khazaj* is a sort of bush growing around water-courses in fields. Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī says *khazajah* is ground covered with bushes that bear no fruit, and are therefore accounted as useless.

28 For haggling *taḥt al-thawb* under a cloth, see G. Wyman Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915, 122, though this is at Hodeidah, and p.268b.

29 Tribesmen will say that they are going to *yitṣarrafū fi Ṣan'ā'*, i.e. to go shopping and purchase what they need there. One might say, *'Sha'sir ajirr al-maṣrūf min al-sūq*, I shall go and get provisions from the market.' Arriving in Ṣan'ā' a man might say, *'Aṭṣarraf wa-'rja'*, I'm going to shop and return.' Al-Rāzī, *Tārīkh*, 96, says, 'The countryfolk (*ahl al-bādiyah*) who are around Ṣan'ā' meet in the Ṣan'ā' markets to seek their needs for sustenance (*yatahārawajūn*) during the first part of the day and one will say to the other, "Finish your business, and hurry to get back before the rain comes." This is at the end of the month Naysān and beginning of Ayyār. Cf. *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 40.

30 Nazīh, *Riḥlah*, I, 254.

31 Al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1965, 244.

32 *K. al-Muntakhab*, 142, 417—the *munādī* and sale of cloth.

33 *Nihāyat al-rutbah fi ṭalab al-ḥisbah*, ed. al-'Arīnī, Cairo 1946, 64. Cf. Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-qurbā*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1938, chap. XXIX.

34 Al-Tha'ālibī, loc. cit.

35 'A Zaidī manual of *ḥisbah* of the 3rd century (H)', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, Roma, 1953, XXVIII, 14.

36 *Ṭa'ām* often means simply grain and probably does so here.

37 'Alī b. Muḥ., al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī, *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, Beirut, 1972, 386.

38 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 253, cites a Ṣan'ānī merchant and scholar who, when he found fraud (*ghashsh*) in his goods, showed this to the purchaser.

authority of *ijtihād.*

The question of price-fixing is closely associated by the legal authorities of the Islamic schools with the interception of commodities being brought into the markets. These are of course issues dealt with in the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*.[39] To take only one source from the large corpus of Zaydī law books, the *Sharḥ al-Azhār*[40] deals with this issue as follows.

> To intercept an article imported (*talaqqi 'l-jalūbah*) to the markets of the Muslims so as to purchase it before it arrives (there) is not permissible. Interception of an imported article is prohibited on two counts only, one being that the interceptor circumvents them (*yakhda'u-hum*), and the second that for the poor man (*ḍa'īf*) of the townsfolk (*ahl al-miṣr*) interception is impossible. If, however, the importer (*jallāb*) has actually reached the edge of the town[41] this prohibition ceases (to operate) since the two counts upon which it is justified no longer obtain.
>
> Within this (category) falls monopolising the sustenance of man and beast (*ihtikār qūt al-ādamī wa-'l-bahīmah*). This is prohibited under certain conditions, the first of which is that it be food for man or beast, but if not then it is permissible (to do so) in the case of all foods, without, in our opinion, any distinction. (It is related) on the authority of Zayd b. 'Alī[42] that 'there is no monopolising except in wheat and barley.' The second (condition) is that one may (only) monopolise what is surplus to his own full requirement and that of those whom he is supplying (*yumawwin*), up to the (time of) the crop (*ghallah*), and if he has no crop then up to a year. In *al-Zuhūr*[43] he said, 'and that one be expecting a rise in the price (*ghalā'*) of it.' The third is one be monopolising it at a time where there is need of it. The fourth is that one be monopolising it when scarce (*'adam*) and not to be found except with the monopolist. Under these conditions monopolising is prohibited, and it makes no difference whether it be from his own crop (*zar'*) or whether he bought it from town or country.[44]

'He is obliged to sell but not subject to price-fixing[45] (*tas'īr*), i.e. one does not oblige him to make his price such and such (a figure), but he fixes the price as he wishes. If he refuses to sell,' the author says, 'then the best thing (*al-aqrab*) is that the Imām or *ḥākim* sell on his behalf. This is in the case of the "two foods" (*al-qūtān*) only. Price-fixing in all other transactions of sale (*mabī'āt*) is permissible.' The author says, 'Recent Imāms have approved, under certain conditions, the assessment of the price (*taqdīr si'r*) of anything apart from the "two foods",[46] such as meat and ghee (*samn*), out of regard for people's weal (*maṣlaḥah*) and so as to protect them from "detriment"[47] (*ḍarar*).'[48]

The commentator writing about the middle of the 9th/15th century makes the significant remark, 'So also it is the Imām's duty to bring out the grain (stored in) the fortresses (*ḥabb al-ḥuṣūn*) in such case, unless he be apprehensive that through so doing one of the provinces of the Muslims will be eradicated—then he had no duty (to do so).'

The Shāfi'is,[49] relying on much the same Traditions as the Zaydīs, are also of course opposed to both price-fixing and monopolising. Nevertheless the celebrated traveller Johann Burckhardt[50] writing of the second decade of the 19th century, complains of monopolising and lack of control of prices in Medina, adding, 'In other eastern towns as at Mekka and Djidda, a public officer, called *Mohteseb,*[51] is appointed to watch over the sale of provisions; to take care that they do not rise to immoderate prices, and fix a maximum to all victualling traders, so that they may have a fair but not exorbitant profit. But this is not the case at Medina, because the Mohteseb is there without any authority.'

In the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* itself the gist of the argument of the Preamble supports price-fixing, which if not adopted leads to injustice and fraud. The author seems to imply that price-fixing had fallen into abeyance before the time of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh (early 13th/19th century), despite the opinions of the ulema in favour of its validity and the necessity of imposing it. He maintains that for both townsman and countryman price-fixing is beneficial.

A Pre-Islamic Code of Market Regulations

In the ruins of the pre-Islamic city of Timna' of the Bayḥān district, in an open space—probably once the marketplace for produce entering from the countryside—stands a square stela, partially eroded, containing market regulations in the ancient south Arabian script. Professor Beeston has re-translated this under the title of 'The merchant code of Qatabān',[52] and although even his rendering leaves many uncertainties, it suggests similarities to the Islamic prohibition of the interception of commodities coming in to the market.

Beeston has understood the ordinances of the stela to refer to merchandise in the broad sense, but the fuller interpretation of the inscription turns on the use of the root *sh y ṭ*—which in

39 Cf. Zabārah, *A'immat al-Yaman,* I, ii, for arguments against price-fixing.

40 By Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Abdullāh b. Miftāḥ, drawn from *al-Ghayth al-midrār al-mufattiḥ li-Kamā'im al-Azhār* of the Imām al-Mahdī who composed the text of *al-Azhār* and commented upon it in *al-Ghayth* during the first half of the 9th/15th century. The *Sharḥ al-Azhār* was printed in Cairo 1357 H., at the expense of Sādāt min al-Yaman. This useful book has occasional Yemenite data. The Kuwait Library (Ṣan'ā') copy bears a Ms. note, *'Min kutub al-ḥaqir ilā Allāh khādim dīni-hi wa-waṭani-hi al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. al-Imām Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn,'* with al-Ḥasan's signature—it would have been extracted from his private library after September 1962.

41 The commentator says that by this phrase is intended 'the market of the place'.

42 Cf. *Musnad al-Imām Zayd,* Beirut, 1966, 275 on the monopolising of wheat, barley and dates. Aḥ . . . al-Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār,* Cairo, 1949, III, 319, says there is no monopolising except in wheat and barley.

43 I have not identified this work, but the commentator of *al-Azhār* quotes a Tradition, 'Whoever monopolises *ṭa'ām* (food or grain?) wishing for a rise in price for it, is quit of Allāh and Allāh is quit (*barī'a*) of him.'

44 Another authority is quoted taking the opposite view.

45 Another authority is quoted as stating that price-fixing for the 'two foods' is permissible also.

46 In Yarīm the 'two foods', in 1974, seemed to be grain flour for human consumption and fodder for animals. The *'āqil al-ḥubūb* or grain-headman was responsible for price-fixing (*mas'ūl bi-'l-tas'īr*).

47 For examples of 'detriment' see pp.92b, 125, 233a, passim.

48 The commentator points out that this was the view of al-Hādī also, as has already been seen above.

49 Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Dayba' al-Shaybānī al-Zabīdī, in his abbreviation of *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* of Muḥammad b. al-Athīr (ob. 606 H.), called *Taysīr al-wuṣūl,* Cairo, 1346 H., I, 78, stating that the Prophet rejected price-fixing in spite of rising prices, with the words, *'Allāh al-musa'ir,* God it is who fixes prices.' *Al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār,* III, 318, cites this Tradition to support the statement that, 'sale with price-fixing (*bay' al-tas'īr*) is prohibited.' Cf. Aḥ. Sa'īd al-Mujaylidī (1094/1682-3), *al-Taysīr fi aḥkām al-tas'īr,* ed. Mūsā Laqbāl, Algiers, 1971.

The *Taysīr al-wuṣūl,* I, 78, attributes to the Caliph 'Umar the Tradition, *'Lā ḥukrata fi sūqi-nā,* There is no monopolising in our market.' He is also credited with opposing the monopolising (really hoarding) of *ṭa'ām* for forty days to make prices rise. Ibn 'Umar is acredited the saying, *'Al-jālib marzūq wa-'l-muḥtakir maḥrūm,* The importer is increased in property but the monopoliser is not.' This Tradition is also used by the commentator on the Zaydī *al-Azhār.*

50 *Travels in Arabia,* London 1829, reprint Beirut, 1972, 377.

51 For the Prophet's appointment of a governor, in later times a *muḥtasib,* over the Medina market and that of Mecca after he took it over, see 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm . . . Nūr al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīrat al-Ḥalabiyyah,* Cairo, 1349, II, 447. In the first century of Islam Ziyād b. Abi-hi obviously concerned himself with prices, for his agents (*'ummāl*) over the Dār al-Rizq at Basrah and al-Kallā'—which were probably grain and fodder markets and he would ask them what had come into Dār al-Rizq and about prices. By implication this seems to indicate that he would exercise some sort of control over them. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf,* edit. M. Schloessinger and M.J. Kister, Jerusalem, 1971, IV, i, 186.

52 *Qahtan,* London, 1959, I. Cf. 'A Minaean market code', *BSOAS,* 1978, XLI, i, 142-5.

Geez means 'to sell'. Qāḍī Ismā'īl[53] however informed me that *shiyāṭah* and its derivatives mean 'buying of grain—measuring it out (*shirā' al-ṭa'ām—al-iktiyāl*)', and Goitein[54] reports that 'we "buy" anything, but anything that belongs to the grain category we *nishtāṭ (ayyi ḥājah nishtarī—ammā kull mā kān jins ḥabb nishtāṭ)*' This alters the whole application of the 'code' if this restricted sense of *sh y ṭ* be accepted as appropriate. The inscription's list of officials participating in the legislative act includes a slightly ambiguous reference to *dhahab*[55] land, where grain would be grown. The following are the main provisions of the stela, rendered along the general lines of the Beeston translation, but with adaptations or reinterpretations to suit the Arabic use of *sh y ṭ* and its derivatives—it need hardly be remarked that these are provisional and, to some extent, conjectural.

Clause 1 stipulates that whoever sells[56] grain (*m sh y ṭ*) of Timna' or B r m must pay the market-tax/earnest-money,[57] and have a booth/set up a tent (*kh d r*)[58] in Sh m r (which last Beeston sees as the name of Timna' market-place). Clause 2 requires persons of all tribes that go to Qatabān with (grain) to sell (*bmshṭm*), and fodder (*'rmm*), and sheep-and-goats (*qnym*)[59] shall occupy a booth/set up a tent, and conduct their business and sell in Sh m r. Clause 3 permits such a person, once he has occupied his booth/tent in Sh m r, to sell grain (*byshtyṭ*) and bargain[60] with any booth/tent-holder and vendor/purchaser of grain (*mshṭ*) without the intervention[61] of the *'Āhir* of Sh m r. This last-named official seems to correspond to the Islamic Headman of the Market (*'Āqil al-Sūq*) who might be a *dallāl,* i.e., a commission agent, broker. Clause 4 (which is not easy to interpret) seems to state that when the Headman (*'Āhir*) of Sh m r announces that he authorises the Qatabānians to offer hospitality (perhaps protection?) to the tribes (so as) to sell (*yshṭ*) at Timna', having set up a tent (or—occupied a booth) with his grain for sale (*mshṭ*), then Qatabān will purchase grain (*yishtāṭūn*) from the tribes.[62] Clause 5 stipulates that when they inform the Headman (*'Āhir*) of Sh m r that any stranger[63] tribe has attempted to visit any part of Qatabān with grain to sell (*bmshṭm*) to Qatabān, 'or that a man has consistently acted to the detriment of his fellow trader by fore-stalling',[64] he shall be fined fifty silver[65] pieces. Clause 6 tells us that the King of Qatabān and the Headman (*'Āhir*) of Sh m r (market) are not to bring into reckoning a benefit[66] of seed (i.e. a levy or gift of grain) on grain they sell and Qatabān buys, and on those upon whom the Headman (*'Āhir*) has imposed a grain-sale fee (*shtyṭm*)[67] of N silver pieces, already paid in advance (?) to Qatabān in the grain-market (*mshṭ*) of Sh m r, the Qatabān tax (?).[68] Clause 7 seems to mean that an inhabitant of Timna' who leases (?) his house or building with a courtyard[69] to the occupier of a booth or tent shall pay (tax?)—or it might possibly mean, pledge to the King of Qatabān from certain of his own or the occupier's goods. Clause 8 seems to mean that no person shall have any dealings in grain who pays (tax), or it might mean, makes a pledge, in order to sell grain to a stranger tribe instead of dealing with Qatabān or S ' f l.[70] Clause 9 is uncertain, and Clause 10 prohibits trading at night.

It will be perceived that the afore-going ordinances, uncertain as our understanding of their sense still is, do hint, if no more, at resemblances to the Statute of Ṣan'ā'. It seems to me that the object in centralising trading on Timna' market may be less for fiscal reasons than Beeston proposes, but more so as to preserve the interests and rights of the Timna' merchant body trading in grains, but this does in part depend on whether ' r *b* is to be interpreted as paying a tax or putting down earnest-money. Clause 4, discussing asking for hospitality, may indicate a system like that in present-day Ḥaḍramī Shibām, a trading entrepôt, where the commission agent/broker lodges the tribesman in his own house during the latter's stay in town. A 'stranger tribe' might be a tribe outside Timna' jurisdiction which yet wished to sell its produce in Timna' market but was required to obtain specific permission from the Headman to do so. Clause 5 defines the penalty to be paid by a 'stranger tribe' infringing this rule and the man who goes out to deal with them.

53 Cf. his *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah,* I, 207, no. 575, *'Akbar mihimm-ah masabb al-shiyāṭah,* His greatest preoccupation is his leather bag for carrying (his purchase of) grain' i.e. All his care is for his daily bread. An unpublished proverb is *Ǫ rdah wa-lā shiṭah,* Locust collecting (which costs nothing) not grain buying. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen,* Gibb Mem. Series, XXVLI, London-Beirut, 1973-8, 40 (*al-Simṭ al-ghālī*) recounts under the events of the close of the 6th/12th century that 'One of the ordinary folk of the market (*'āmmat al-sūq*) came to (al-Malik al-'Azīz) complaining that one of the troops (*ajnād*) had come to sell grain (*yashtāṭ al-ṭa'ām*), and he offered him to sell it at more than the price, but he refused, saying, "I am not going to purchase twice over." So they fell to quarrelling over that, and pride drove the soldier to refuse to sell it except at more than the price.' The soldier then broke the man's measure (*mikyāl*) and scattered the grain. Here it seems to me the text demands that *ishtāṭ* means to sell grain (not to buy it). One may deduce further from the text that there was a recognised price for grain, possibly even a fixed price, and this during the rule of the orthodox Ayyūbids. Ibid, 201, however seems to use *ishtāṭ* in the sense of buying wheat.

54 *Jemenica,* 58, no. 343.

55 Cf. *Gloss. daṭ.,* flood-watered fields.

56 It seems necessary to understand the root *shyṭ* as used in the inscription in both senses of buying and selling as appropriate to the context. S. D. Goitein, ed. Ḥabshush: *Travels in Yemen,* Jerusalem, 1941, 89, *shāṭ,* to sell cereals, and *ishtāṭ* to buy them.

57 The ' r *b* is reminiscent of *'arbūn,* earnest-money, *'arraba fī bay'i-hi,* to give earnest money in the case of his purchase, and *a'raba,* to pay in advance.

58 In Landberg's *Ḥaḍramoût, khadr* is explained as *case, tente, maisonette en pierres ou en briques.*

59 These three commodities are substituted for Beeston's 'merchandise, bales and goods'. *Lisān al-'Arab,* XV, 145-6, gives *al-armām* as the last part of the plant remaining, a plural of *rimm,* but there are many indications that it means dry fodder grass, e.g. *arammat al-ibl,* the camels took fodder (*'alaf*), *rammat al-shāh al-ḥashish,* the ewe took the grass in its lips. Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah,* III, 281, speaks of *qaniyyat al-ghanam* sheep-and-goats acquired for milking, but *qaniyy* can refer also to she-camels. Traditions mention *qaniyyah saminah,* a fat animal. These are precisely the commodities the countryfolk in Wādī Bayḥān bring to market, and, unless my memory deceives me they bring in camel loads of *thumām* grass for fodder.

60 In proposing to translate this word, equivalent to the Arabic *iftakhar* as bargain, Professor Beeston writes, 'Jamme military texts contain several instances of *fkhr* used in the sense of "to make proposals to someone", which, in a mercantile context could easily be "bargaining." ' I should however like to compare also Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *'Subḥān muzayyin al-biḍā'ah fī wajh al-mishtarī,* Praise to the man who cracks up his goods to the buyer.' This is said when inferior goods are in brisk demand and people flock to buy them!

61 Perhaps by intervention is meant mediation by the *'Āhir* to settle a deal between vendor and purchaser.

62 This clause I interpret rather differently from Beeston, since it seems unlikely that buyers would go out from Timna' but they would rather come into the market.

63 Stranger (*nkr*) is parallel to *gharīb* of the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'.*

64 Beeston proposes this new rendering which has been adopted here in preference to his 'constant cheating' since it could relate to interception of tribes people going to market, and thereby form a logical sequel to the first part of the clause.

65 *Wirq* in Arabic, means silver, coined or otherwise. Gold would hardly be appropriate in this context.

66 The text's *n'mt bz(w)rtm* may be compared with the Arabic *in'ām,* a gift. It looks as if what was intended is that a voluntary gift is not to become a fixed tax, or that it is not to be included as part of other imposts, or that no such gift is to be levied at all! In an agreement between a family of Thibī near Tarīm of Ḥaḍramawt and the local Yāfi'ī sultans the latter renounce their rights to various customary impositions including a *makhlab,* i.e. a sheaf of grain sent at harvest-time—the situation is not unlike that in ancient Timna'.

67 *Shtyṭm* is equivalent to the Arabic *ishtiyāṭ,* and, from meaning buying or selling grain, could conceivably develop the sense of a tax on selling; but here and in Clause 1 might it not refer to earnest-money, and *qtdmm* be equivalent to the common Arabic word *taqdimah,* an advance of money?

68 Sabaean *nky,* to strike. Beeston proposes 'coinage' but in the context the Arabic *ḍarībah,* tax, seems as feasible.

69 From Beeston's discussion of this word *mkhtn* it appears that this type of building is sometimes described as having a *ṣarḥat,* which means a court in the Yemen, and for a grain merchant such a building could be specially useful.

70 Al-Sāfil is a common name in south Arabia—perhaps here the lower Wādī Bayḥān, equivalent to B r m?

Buying, Selling and Trading in Yemeni Proverbial Literature

How Yemenis look upon the business of buying and selling, commerce, loans and money in general is clearly revealed in the popular expressions and lore of the proverb. Many of these sayings are common to the country at large, some are peculiar to a district, some are described by Qāḍī Ismā'īl as current among merchants, and both he and Goitein[71] record proverbs special to the Jews, and naturally there are proverbs deriving from some Muslim religious tenet or observance which Jews would not employ and vice-versa.

'Buying and selling are the war of the Believers' [72] since in the chaffering over some piece of goods comes out a man's prowess,[73] and to bargain is not a matter of shame but of pride. 'He who lets his buying be managed by another is only half a man.' He is not familiar with the Market and they will 'take a loan of him (*zādū 'alayh*)'[74] The merchant's profession is to be preferred to all other occupations— 'the dust on an article of merchandise is musk!'[75]

All commerce used formerly to follow that of the capital, so 'if Ṣan'ā' has opthalmia the World is blind.'[76] This apparently means that if trading conditions are bad there then elsewhere they are much worse.

It is wiser to lay out your money in commodities than to hoard it away—' goods not money '[77] and live on the profits, but almost the opposite is implied in the proverb, 'Preserving capital, not seeking income.'[78] However this seems to apply only to investing in business likely to be unprofitable! 'Don't wait too long in selling your onions, hoping for profit till they go bad, but sell at cost.' [79] The *jallāb* importing goods which he sells by the score (*kawrajah*) and who must make an impression on the retailer (*miksuir* (sic)) or petty dealer (*bayyā'-mishtarī*) is advised, 'Sell your goods when you are still wearing your sandals/or, the dust (of travel) is still on you/or, you've just arrived.'[80] Sell at any price rather than allow anything to remain too long in your trading establishment (*matjar*),[81] even if you do so with regret. Be content with a small profit— 'the price for something sold first in the day to a Jew, but no travelling off to Aden'[82]—where so many Yemenis went to gain their livelihood in the days of Aden's prosperity, though mostly Yemenis from the Shāfi'ī districts.

To sell wholesale is more profitable than to retail.[83] It is the briskness of the market that sells an article, not the quality of the goods.[84] Inflated prices[85] bring goods to the market—a high demand brings goods to the market.[86] Import goods to the market when it is slack, not when activity is brisk when it will consequently be swamped with commodities—a merchant who imports when the market is dull and holds his wares till the time of demand will make great profits.[87] The purchaser prefers to get 'two things from one merchant'[88] and not go to many. In Ibb they say, 'Don't sell to two and don't buy from three.' To sell at the price for which you bought something is to sell at a loss[89]—it would be a thief's price[90] (*bay' sāriq*)—day-light robbery, as one says in English—on the other hand a large profit on a small quantity is really a small profit,[91] because people will not buy from an exorbitant dealer. An intending purchaser should bring his money with him to help settle a bargain quickly— 'When (money) is present Iblīs is absent.' [92] A merchant naturally prefers the man who offers him the highest price— 'the door for more is open (*bāb al-zāyid maftūḥ*).' This last proverb is reminiscent of the Zaydī maxim, '*Bāb al-ijtihād maftūḥ*, The door of independent judgement is (still) open.'[93] Of a man who won't lower his prices people say, 'Either my bull fetches a hundred or I take him back to the stable.'[94] If you don't believe the price I quote, then try for yourself and see—*buqshat-ak wa'l-sūq*.[95] To urge a merchant to compromise and attempt to meet the customer's offer (*tasāmuḥ*), they say, 'God bless the vanquished,'[96] i.e. the one who concedes the point in this 'war of the Believers.'

'Anything cheap is (really) dear— a donkey costing a *qirsh* is dear—a donkey costing a hundred is cheap.' 'Something of top quality is known by its price.'[97] If it is expensive you should not worry, for 'costliness is cheap.'[98] There is no point in trying to raise matters that have already been decided for 'the seller has sold and received the price in full.' Perhaps also one has bought something on a lucky day.[99]

The merchant is exposed to annoyance by persons who have no work to do but can spend their time bargaining with him.[100] An astute merchant[101] praises his wares, giving the impression that there is competition to purchase them, but, philosophically enough, another proverb tells us that 'a thousand shops are under the protection of the Merciful,' i.e., no merchant receives more than his daily bread and a rival following the same calling cannot affect this.[102]

The power of money is such that 'for your *baysah* (a copper coin of extremely low denomination) you may mount the *qāḍī*.' [103] That is to say bribery corrupts even so respectable a person as a *qāḍī* from whom justice is to be expected, but perhaps he is to be excused if, according to another saying, 'Money binds fast the Jinn!' [104] These sayings have a broader application than market

71 *Jemenica*, 152, no. 1152, *al-mumakkin muwaddi' nuṣṣ rajjāl*. Qādī Ismā'īl in *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, volume 1, and further volumes as yet unpublished, and S. D. F. Goitein, *Jemenica*, draw on Muslim and Jewish informants respectively but there is little not common to the communities.
72 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 339, no. 990.
73 Ibid, I, 262, no. 740.
74 Qāḍī Ismā'īl's collection includes, '*Al-rijlah li'l-rajjāl*, Bargaining is for the Man.' *Rijlah* means *kathrat al-musāwamah 'ind al-shirā'*. Hard bargaining is a quality in a man for which he is not faulted (*yu'āb*). A barbed proverb hits the mark in the saying, '*Rajīl al-bayt ghalab rajīl al-sūq*, The bargainer in the home beats the bargainer of the market.' *Rajīl* is the adjective of *rijlah*, bargaining hard. When a man has bought something and is discussing its price (*taqyīm al-sil'ah*) his wife will show him many reasons proving he has been cheated over it!
75 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 360, no. 1061.
76 Ibid, 95, no 268; *Jemenica*, 14, no. 71.
77 Ibid, 41, no. 212; *al-Amthāl*, I, 300, no. 872, *Biḍā'ah wa-lā qirsh*.
78 Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished, *Ḥifẓ al-uṣūl wa-lā ṭalab al-maḥṣūl*."
79 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 338, no. 988. Cf. *Jemenica*, 46, no. 248, *Bi'buḍā at-ak wa-'ād-ak ḥānig lahā*.
80 *Jemenica*, 46, no. 249.
81 *Al-Amthāl*, i, 339, no. 989.
82 Ibid, I, 285, no. 818. *Bidā min Yahūdī wa-lā safar ilā 'Adan*. Another version runs, 'Economy in the kitchen, but no . . . *Tadbīr al-daymah wa-lā . . .*'
83 Ibid, I, 400, no. 1191, *Al-jabr jābūr*. *Jabr* is wholesalery and *jābūr* what is used to set broken bones.
84 Qāḍī Ismā'īl and *Jemenica*, 98, no. 684, *Ṭīb al-sūq wa-lā ṭib al-biḍā'ah*.
85 Qāḍī Ismā'īl and *Jemenica*, 112, no. 795, *Al-ghalā jallāb*.
86 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Al-ḥaẓā jallāb* and *al-ḥaẓā min al-Jannah*. *Ḥaẓā*, presumably from Class. Arabic *ḥaṣā*, to acquire, is explained as *al-iqbāl 'ala 'l-shirā'*.
87 *Al-Amṭhāl*, I, 34, no. 95, *Ijlib lā bawrah, wa-lā tijlib lā ḥaẓā. Al-bawrah = kasād al-sūq*.
88 Ibid, I, 300, no. 873.
89 Ibid, I, 338, no. 987.
90 Ibid, I, 339, no. 991.
91 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Ribḥ al-kathīr fi 'l-qalīl qalīl*. Cf. *Ribḥ fi 'l-kans wa-lā khasārah fi 'l-ṣābūn*, Profit even though sweeping (a menial occupation) but not loss in (trading in) soap.
92 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 82, no. 230; *Jemenica*, 11, no. 53.
93 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 271, no. 767.
94 Ibid, I, 248, no. 697, *In shī bi-thawrī miyah willā riji' marbaḍ-ih*.
95 Ibid, I, 311, 904.
96 Ibid, I, 276, no. 781. Cf. ibid, I, 284, no. 811.
97 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Al-'āl fi thaman-ah*.
98 *Jemenica*, 112, no. 796.
99 *Al-Amthāl*, I, 276, no. 784.
100 Ibid, I, 323, no. 944, *Al-bayyā'-al-mishtarī maskharat al-fārigh*.
101 Ibid, I, 330, no. 962, *Biḥazzā li-'l-bay'ah*.
102 Ibid, I, 220, no. 618, *Alf dukkān 'alā kanaf al-Raḥmān*.
103 Ibid, I, 278, no. 792.
104 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *Al-darāhim tiddī 'l-jinn mirabbitīn*. Other proverbs collected by him include, *Al-qirsh ba'd Allāh khayr al-a'wān*, The *Riyāl* after God is the best aid. *Al-darāhim tirkab al-qawm fawq al-qawm*, Money sets tribe against tribe. *Al-darāhim mikhrabat al-ḥuṣūn*, Money destroys strong fortresses.

dealings of course and are indicative of the half amused and cynical tolerance Yemenis have for the way in which officials may be bribed, the allegiance of tribes bought, and a good reputation acquired through money judiciously applied. Yet, *'al-'amal al-'āl lak wa-li-'l-sūq'* [105] which means that good workmanship of any sort (e.g. weaving, *ḥiyākah*)—if you do it well—is in the interest of your customer and of your own good repute.

The suspicion of the townsman of the tribesman in business transactions is expressed in the saying, 'When the Badwī states a price you halve it.'[106] The Badwī indeed does not always ask too high a price for what he is selling, while ' the tribesman's debt (owed by him) melts like salt in water,'[107] and you rarely manage to recover it—or so the townsman says. The proverb is quoted in connection with a person who disregards some duty he owes. Therefore he also says, 'The market rather than a hundred countrysides, *Al-sūq wa-lā miyah bādiyah*,' preferring to buy there and not in the *bawādī*. Ṣan'ā' folk are brethren, but not the tribesman, *Ahl Ṣan'ā' akhwah mukhraj al-qabīlī.*'[108] That is to say Ṣan'ā' folk can bear with an injury done them by one of their fellow-townsmen but they cannot put up with anything from the tribesman.

How the Yemeni regards debts is amply illustrable from proverbial literature. 'I take refuge in God from debt (*dayn*) and blindness of eye (*'ayn*).'[109] 'Debt is a worry at night and a humiliation during the day.'[110] This proverb is also reflected in an Islamic Tradition. With rueful humour the Yemeni says, 'If you find it easy to contract a debt, say, "O God, make it difficult!" '[111] Metaphors drawn from the difficulties experienced in the repayment of debts are, 'The payment is greater than the loan, payment gives one a pain in the stomach. '[112] Still there is no point in paying one debt by contracting another, for 'two debts do not settle one debt. '[113] When a man is seeking a loan he flatters but when asked to pay it back he turns abusive, 'At the time of borrowing it's *Sīdī* (my Lord), but when it comes to repayment it's *yā Yahawdī*! '[114] Nevertheless I recall hearing a wounded soldier in the north re-capitulating all his debts to his fellow-tribesmen so that they could settle them if he died—in full accord with pre-Islamic and Islamic emphasis on this point.

One should look after one's *qirsh*—the Maria Theresa silver dollar—*al-qirsh al-abyaḍ yinfa' li-'l-yawm al-aswad,* the silver/white *qirsh* is useful on the black day, i.e., save up your money for a rainy day. *Al-qirsh 'abd-ak mā dām fī jayb-ak, fa-in kharaj fa-ant 'abd-ih,* The *qirsh* is your slave as long as it is in your pocket, but when it leaves it you become its slave! The *qirsh* weighs an ounce, but it requires a pound of intelligence (to handle it wisely), *al-qirsh wazn-ih waqiyyah wa-yishtī raṭl 'aql.* Nevertheless one should not hoard one's money but use it to earn a profit—*qirsh yidūr wa-lā alf maṣrūr.*[115]

Crafts, Trades and Professions followed at Ṣan'ā'

The list of professions that follows has been provided by Dr. A. Shivtiel drawing on various Hebrew sources,[116] and to this is appended below certain categories not included in his list but taken from Rossi's study. Though the list covers the activities of Jewish artisans and workmen, many of these crafts were also plied by Muslim workmen before and/or after the departure of the Jews, with, of course, certain obvious exceptions.

'Ammār, builder.

'Aṭṭār, perfumer, chemist.[117]

Bayyā'-mishtarī, shopman, grocer, drysalter, etc.

Dabbāgh, tanner.

Ḍarrāb, a silversmith engaged in hammering metal flat.

Farrān, baker in a *furn* (oven). See *khabbāz* infra.

Ḥaddād, blacksmith.

Ḥajjām, cupper, blood-letter. Cf. *jarrā'*, infra.

Ḥallāq, cf. *miḥalliq* infra.

Ḥalwajī, (Turkish), see *miḥalwī,* infra.

Ḥammāl, porter.

Jallāb, importer.

Jarrā', cupper,

Koteb (Heb., = Ar. *kātib*), transcriber of sacred writings, scrolls, etc. Cf. Arabic *nassākh* infra.

Kayyāl, measurer of grain. The Jewish *kayyāl* also bought from villagers and sold grain. In a good year the villager would bring his grain to the houses of the *kayyāls* who measured[118] it before buying. In the harvest season the rich would buy supplies for the whole year, the middle income group for a month at a time, the poor for a week only.

Khabbāz, baker, see *farrān* supra. The *khabbāz* sold mostly to the army or richer Arabs who for some reason did not bake at home.

Khallāṣ, silver/gold smith, working with *mukhlaṣ* (silver).

Khuḍrajī, (Turkish) green-grocer.[119]

Maddār, according to the Hebrew sources the *maddār* was a potter, and *madar* a salesman of pots.[120]

Mallāj, (mud)-plasterer.

Maṣṣār, cleaner of wells or drains (*'ūqah*)[121]

Mi'attiq,[122] maker of wine or *'arāqī,* of grapes and raisins.

Mibawrit, manufacturer of gun-powder (*bārūt*) for the army or quarry-men.

Mibardiq, snuff (*birduqān*)[123] manufacturer.

Mibashmiq, maker of shoes (*bashmaq*).[124]

Midqarwī, peddlar, carrying his wares in a bag (*zu'bah*), or on a donkey.[125]

105 Ibid.
106 *Al-Amthāl,* I, 77, no. 219.
107 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Dayn al-qabīlī yitmāliḥ* (unpublished).
108 *Al-Amthāl,* 256, no. 721.
109 *Jemenica,* 108, no. 763.
110 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Al-dayn hamm bi-'l-layl wa-madhallah bi-'l-nahār.*
111 *Al-Amthāl,* I, 76, no. 218.
112 *Jemenica,* 121, no. 876; 122, no. 877.
113 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *Dayn mā yaqḍī dayn.*
114 Qāḍī Ismā'il, *'Ind al-salaf yā Sīdī, wa-'ind al-maqḍā, yā Yahawdī.* To the Yemeni the term *Yahawdī* is a simple epithet of abuse bandied about among Muslims without a thought as to its meaning. This comes out well in the proverb, *'Al-yahawdah fī 'l-qulūb, mā hih bi-ṭūl al-zanānīr,* Jewishness is in hearts, it does not depend on the length of locks.' (Rossi, *L' Arabo parlato,* 66). Cf. *'Ind al-salaf yā 'amm wa-'inda 'm-maqḍā yā shaybat al-khass,* At the time of the loan, 'O (paternal) uncle', and at the time of repayment, 'O mean old man!'
115 Qāḍī Ismā'il's unpublished collection. Another version of the last runs, *Qirsh dawwār wa-lā alf ḥiwār.*
116 This might be compared with the list in T. Fahd, 'Les corps de metiers au iv/xè siècle à Bagdād', *Jl. of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Leiden, 1965, VIII, ii, 186-212, and similar articles elsewhere.
117 Cf. p.185a, n.89.
118 For each quantity measured the *kayyāl* used to lay down a pebble so that the villager could keep a reckoning.
119 I have been told that some thirty or more years ago vegetables were not much sold in Ṣan'ā' but the consumption has greatly increased since then.
120 Cf. pp.228b, 328. The types of pot mentioned are *akwāz (kūz), barāyim (burmah), jamīn (jamanah), qulal (qullah), adwāḥ (dawḥ), zabādī (zubdiyyah), qaṣārī (qaṣriyyah).*
121 In the Yemen they say *yimṣur al-bīr,* he cleans the mud out of the well, the action being *miṣārah.* For *'ūqah* see p.442a.
122 Presumably from the classical Arabic *'atīq,* wine.
123 Cf. p.177a.
124 He also makes *bashāmiq Yamāniyah,* described as like slippers.
125 This word may come from some such verb as *taqarwā* with perhaps a sense of going round to the *qarawī,* the villager. Cf. Ḥabshūsh, 92, *mgarwī,* peddlar.

Mifalliq, wood-chopper.
Miḥalliq, barber, as *ḥallāq,* supra.
Miḥalwī, confectioner, sweet-maker.[126] Cf. *ḥalwajī,* supra.
Mijaḥḥif, lavatory cleaner.
Mijarmim, maker of sheep-skins sewn into a blanket (I have heard this called *khuṭṭah* at Rubāṭ 'Amrān, but the word may not be Ṣan'ānī). They made also the fleece-lined coar (*jarm*) but this was more usually made by the *muqayṣir/miqayṣur* (infra).
Mikaddim, maker of baps (baked in a *furn*) called *kidmah,* pl. *kidam.*
Mikabbī, the maker of fuel from dung (*kibā'*).[127]
Mikhayyiṭ (*mikhayyuṭ* Heb.), tailor.
Mikhussut, (Heb.) book-binder. Cf. Rossi's list infra, for Arabic equivalents.
Milajjim, repairer of broken, cracked pottery with iron.[128]
Milammi', maker of *lammā'*—ornaments of shining copper to be sewn on women's frocks.
Minaḥḥis, copper/brass (?) smith.
Minākhil, sieve-maker of *mushannāt* and *manākhil.*
Miqaḍḍiḍ, worker in *qaḍāḍ.*[129]
Miqaḥwif, cobbler, maker of shoes called *quḥūf,* pl. *qaḥāwif,* of cow-hide.
Miqaṣṣuṣ, plasterer, worker in *quṣṣ.*[130]
Miqaṭrun, maker of pitch (*quṭrān*)—not made in Ṣan'ā'.
Miqayṣur, maker of coats called *qaṣīrah,* pl., *qaṣāyir,* and *karak,* pl., *kurūk,* and *kartiyyah,* pl., *karātī,* sheepskin coats. Strips (*sukhtiyān*) of leather, or green leather thread (*tirshah*) are made by them and put on the coats.[131]
Miraqqi', leather worker who makes also buckets [132] and repairs them.
Miraṣṣuṣ, worker in lead.
Miṣabbun, soap-maker—of *ṣābūn 'Arabī,* manufactured at night because of the unpleasant smell. *Ṣābūn Turkī* is (or was) the general name for foreign soap.
Mishādī, a man who knew the roads to the villages and the prices of animals, and who would buy or hire beasts for people and guide them on their way. He seems to be equivalent to the *maqdamī.*[133]
Mishammi', candle-maker.
Miṭalwī, plater of silver jewellery with gold. Cf. *ṭilā'.*[134]
Mitannik, tinsmith. Cf. *tanakjī.*
Mitanwir,[135] makery of pottery ovens (*tannūr*), and bowls for *laḥūḥ* bread.
Miwaqqir,[136] man who roughens the surface of mill-stones when they have worn smooth.
Miwaqquṣ,[137] stone-cutter, mason. The Hebrew sources state that many Muslims followed this craft.
Miwassid, upholsterer, making *wasīdahs,* mattresses, *madākī*[138] (cushions). The customer buys the materials and the *miwassid* comes to work in his house.
Mi'arriq, seller of *'arāqī* and wine.
Muwaṭṭuf, maker of *wiṭāf* (donkey-saddles stuffed with *ra'* grass).
Naddāf, cotton carder.[139]
Najjār, carpenter.
Naqqāsh, decorator.
Qallī, roaster of peas, beans, *dhurah,* barley, *wazīf* (dried sardines), locusts, etc. Cf. the present day *imbar'ī* of Ṣan'ā' who cooks green peas (*bir'ī*) in the market.
Qaṭṭā', quarry-man, stone-cutter. This was an occupation rare among Jews, and in latter years Jews had left it entirely to the Muslims.
Ṣabbāgh, dyer. Long ago the dyer prepared his own dyes also but they had long been imported.
Ṣaḥḥāb, scavenger who drags animal carcases out of the city, dogs, cats, donkeys, horses, the carcases being eaten by eagles and vultures.
Ṣallāṭ, oil, ghee and honey vendor.
Ṣannā', weaver, making upholstery, cloth for army uniforms, *maqāṭib* (sing. *maqṭab*) black or indigo-dyed head cloths, *liḥāf* striped waist-wrappers, *shamā'il* camel-hair bags, and *farā'iq* (sing. *farīqah*) woollen carpet strips.
Ṭaḥḥān, miller.
Ṭāhor, i.e. *mihrat al-Ṭ.,* silver-smithery. *Ṭāhor* (Hebrew), Ar. *ṭāhir,* is clearly the translation of the Ar. word *mukhlaṣ,* pure silver. This craft is divided up into a number of specializations and several of these will be seen to correspond exactly with *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 3.

a) *Yishqī ḥaqq al-Yahūd,* working for the Jews.
b) *Yishqī ḥaqq al-qabā'il,* working for the tribes.
c) *Yishqī ṣabb,* working at (silver) smelting.
d) *Yishqī ṭāhor,* working on pure silver, fine work.
e) *Khallāṣ,* worker in *mukhlaṣ* silver.
f) *Miṭalwī,* gold-washer.
g) *Ḍarrāb,* silver-beater.
h) *Yishqī tīzīg,*[140] weaver with silver thread; strips sewn to the head-dresses of women, belts worn by Muslims, *ḥuẓyah*[141] borders, and strips (*shurūṭ*).

Tājir, owner of a cloth-shop, a clothier. Nazīh al-'Aẓm[142] comments on the Syrian, mainly Aleppan cloth and French silks in a Jewish shop at Bāb al-Sharārah for women's dresses. The Jews made their clothes at home and only Muslims ever bought ready-mades at such shops.
Tanakjī, see *mitannik,* of which this is a Turkish variant.

An occupation of the Jews not included in the above list specifically but noted by Nazīh al-'Aẓm[143] is the forgery of 'Ḥimyaritic' antiquities in stone. To judge by the large number of forgeries purchased clandestinely by European visitors today, the craft probably flourishes more vigorously than ever in Muslim hands! The Jews also were engaged in cutting and polishing the semi-precious stones for which the Yemen is famous, but in Ṣan'ā' this art is now almost gone.

Jewish studies may well have a complete account of this industry but it seems worth while to include Amīn Rayḥānī's[144] description of the Ṣan'ā' lapidaries who worked by dipping a stick in water and rubbing it against a stone. Each stick, no longer than a lead pencil, had set at its end, in a mixture of gum *ajlā'.*

126 Sweets mentioned are *afṣāṣ,* precious stones, *nabāt,* crystal-shaped, *ḥāmid,* acid-tasting, *milabbis,* sweets with a filling, *rawānī, jawārish, luqūm, mabākhir,* sweets of various shapes made of white or coloured sugar.
127 Cf. p395a, n.29. This was and is made by Muslim villagers also.In Ḍula' Hamdān for instance these flat round cakes of animal dung (*kibāyah*) and small balls of dung called *ja'mazī* (pl. *ja'āmiz*) are made, the dung being collected in a hole in the ground called *mukhbāzī.* At the weekly markets in the little villages outside Ṣan'ā' one sees small girls going round collecting donkey droppings to make into fuel cakes. Cf. Goitein, *Jemenica,* 51, no. 281. There is a proverb, *Ḥāmil al-kharā 'ala 'l-rās wu-la 'l-ṣanī'ah li-'l-nās,* Better to carry dung on one's head than be dependant on people.
128 The *milajjim* goes round with his tools in a bag and repairs pots in front of a house. He has a special street cry.
129 Cf. p.227b. The Hebrew sources say it is made of small stones and slaked lime (*nūrah*) and when dried rubbed over with animal fat. Cf. Ḥabshūsh, 92.
130 He is said to make a hissing sound when at work!
131 Cf. Perso-Turkish *sakhtiyān,* goat leather; al-Hamdānī, *Iklīl I,* ed. Akwa', 295, red leather, *tirshah,* is Turkish meaning pea-green colour.
132 He also makes leather bags *qur', zu'ab, masabbāt,* saddle-bags (*akhrāj*) and
133 Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 49, ix, note 397.
134 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 3, v.
135 We have supplied this vocalisation.
136 Cf. p.425a-b. For the *maṭḥan* see *Jemenica,* 26, no. 130.
137 Cf. p.468a. *Waqaṣ, yūqis,* to trim stone.
138 Cf. pp.171b, 442a.
139 The sources list the tools he employs.
140 This word is not apparently Hebrew or Arabic. A valuable study, 'Tesig-Bandweberei mit Gold- und Silberfaden in Ṣan'ā',' *Baessler-Archiv Beiträge z. Völkerkunde,* XXII, 1974, 225-45, by Aviva Klein, describes this beautiful craft with technical detail and illustrations.
141 Cf. p.192b. n. 235, also *ḥuḍyah.*
142 *Riḥlah,* I, 124-5.
143 Ibid, I, 141.
144 Ameen Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert,* 170. For the stones of near-by Wādi Sa'wān see al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifah,* 202, etc.
145 Ibid, I, 134.

and pitch, a red quartz. The manner for turning out a stone for a ring or seal is as follows. The trip hammer is first used to break up the original into small pieces, which are set in the adhesive substance at the end of a stick; and then the process of formation and polishing is achieved upon four different stones—the first, a flint, eats away the angles of the gem—the second, less abrasive rounds it, the third, a sandstone cleans it, and the fourth, a chalk, I think, gives it polish—and behold a carnelian which can charm away evil spirits. Specimens of these sticks with the stone set in the end were collected by the late W. H. Ingrams.

Nazīh[145] states that most of the builders in Ṣan'ā' are Jews, but some are Muslims.

Additional Occupations followed in Ṣan'ā'[146]

Bakhshawān, gardener (Turko-Persian).
Habbāk, or *mujallid, muṣallib, muṣalliḥ,* book binder.
Jammāl, camel-man, probably not a Ṣan'ānī.
Maddāḥ, minstrel.
Mijabbir, bone-setter.
Munaqqil, cobbler, shoe-maker.
Nashshād, minstrel.
Nassakh, copyist of books.
Sinaydār, mosque attendant.
Sannān, sharpener (of knives, daggers etc.).
Shawtarī, muleteer.
Ṭabīb, native doctor.

Another profession is the cattle dealer known as *qammāṭ.* But it is possible this was not a Ṣan'ānī profession or not exercised in Ṣan'ā'.

Of Yemeni markets in general the Egyptian writer of the first half of the 8th/14th century, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī[147] observes, perhaps a little contemptuously,

> The kings of the Yemen are always bringing in from Egypt and Syria groups of artisans (*arbāb al-ṣinā'āt*) because of the few of them to be found in the Yemen. Nor are there adequate perpetual markets in the Yemen—in it there is only a day of the week upon which goods (*ajlāb*) are brought in, artisans and goods of their various categories appear, and markets are held upon that day and buying and selling take place. But anyone lacking something in the middle of the week can scarcely obtain it, except comestibles (*ma'ākil*) for these are always (on sale) as in other countries; manufactured comestibles are little sold in its markets, but on the contrary a person who wants anything makes it for himself.

While in general this seems to be borne out by a few rare remarks of the historians, it is unlikely that there was not a continuous market in either Ṣan'ā' or Ta'izz even at that period. We know from the historians that the Rasūlids imported weavers and other craftsmen and it is possible that some of the finer Rasūlid metalwork in brass and copper was actually manufactured by such craftsmen in the Yemen itself. In the 1970s the weekly market in Ṣan'ā' is on *Yawm al-Thulūth,* Tuesday.

Proverbs about Professions and Occupations

The esteem in which the crafts are held by Yemeni townsfolk is embodied in the proverbs, 'A craft in the hand is security from poverty (*Ḥirfah fi 'l-yad amān min al-faqr*)', and, 'Any person who is a specialist in his own craft is a sultan', i.e., independent.[148] Of a boy who follows the occupation, trade or craft of his father they say, *'Kull-in li-mihrat wālid-uh ya'ūd',*[149] no doubt applied to various situations. They prefer 'one whose father and grandfather followed the same craft (understand perhaps, even if he be untrained) to a person who has been learning it for a year (*ibna mihrah wa-lā mit'allim sanah*),[150] but a man who practices two crafts or trades is a liar (*ṣāḥib al-mihratayn kadhdhāb*)[151] because he will do neither well. 'The original ancestor is of no value if the most recent is a cobbler (*mā yinfa' al-jadd al-awwal ilā jā al-ākhir mnaqqil*)',[152] i.e., it is of no use boasting of noble ancestry if your father was a cobbler. It appears that this craft and that of the tanner are considered by Goitein's Jewish informant, as well as by Arabs, of the category of *mihrah khafīfah* or despised occupations. The most fortunately placed crafts are those of the dyer, silversmith and tailor because they have a surety in their hands—in the form of the customer's own property—that guarantees they will receive their wage (*rahn al-ṣabbāgh/al-ṣayyāgh/al-mukhayyiṭ bi-yad-ih/taḥt rijl-ih*)[153]—in former days the crafts of jeweller and tailor were largely in Jewish hands. Nevertheless it is better to be the leek-gardener (*qashshām*) of Ṣan'ā', a Muslim, than the Mori (Jewish teacher) of the country (*bilād*).[154]

The strenuous vigour of the laundryman is nicely indicated in the saying, 'He keeps on coming and going just like the (swinging of the) washerman's testes (*bisīr wa-yijī sā' ku'āl al-muṣabbin*)'.[155] 'The potter eats from a sherd, the repairer (of leather articles) goes about with torn clothes, and the cobbler goes bare-foot (*Al-maddār ya'kul fi shuqfi wa-'l-muraqqi' yukhrij mushaṭṭaṭ wa-'l-mbashmiq yisīr ḥāfi*).'[156] 'The polisher and sharpener (of daggers and swords) doesn't find fault with any weapon brought him (*al-saqqāl mā yi'ayyib silāḥ*)'.[157] 'Even the bakeresses respect one another (*'Ād al-'ammālāt yitmāyazin*).' The bakeress (*khabbāzah*) is notorious for her sharp tongue and foul speech. The version reported by Goitein says that one *'ammālah* doesn't love another, even if sisters, and he regards the word as covering not only the bakeress but the woman coffee-house keeper (*muqahwiyah*) and tailoress (*mikhayyiṭah*). Finally, who could be 'poorer than a whore in Ramaḍān (*afqar min qaḥabah fi Ramaḍān*)?'[158]

Ṣan'ā' Shepherds

It is characteristic of the close connection of Ṣan'ā' people with the life of the countryside that in older times, and indeed still to this day, they are accustomed to send out their sheep-and-

146 E. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato,* 145. I have omitted the types of agricultural worker he gives though these would be employed inside Ṣan'ā'. As the *mu'awwiḍ,* the filler of cartridge-cases who is said to *yi'awwiḍ al-ma'ābir* does not figure in this list he was probably always a Muslim.
Other crafts cited by S. A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet,* Brünn-Prag-Leipzig-Wien, 1933, II, 67, as vocalised by him, are *makawfiyyin,* makers of *kūfiyyahs* (Jews and Arabs), *muqaṣṣabīn,* makers of pipe-tubes (*qaṣabah*) for the *madā'ah, mughashshi'īn* (lit. coverers), makers of the red cloth cover for the *qaṣabah* (Muslims), *muzajjajīn,* glaziers (Jews), *mashshāṭīn,* comb-makers (Muslims), *shammā'īn,* wax-workers (Muslims and Jews).

147 *Masālik al-abṣār,* edit. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo, 1974, 51, section on the Yemen only. See Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā,* V, 36, on the Rasūlids bringing artificers from Egypt to the Yemen.

148 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished proverbs. Cf. *Jemenica,* 127, no. 927.

149 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, ditto.

150 *Jemenica,* 44, no. 231.

151 Ibid, 94, no. 639.

152 Ibid, 150, no. 1127.

153 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished.

154 *Jemenica,* 505, no. 78. The *qashshām* overloads his ass (Ibid, 120, no. 871).

155 Ibid, 89, no. 598.

156 Ibid, 151, no. 1137. Cf. Qāḍī Ismā'īl, *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah,* I, 39, no. 108. *Ahfā min munaqqil wa-a'rā min mikhayyiṭ.*

157 Qāḍī Ismā'īl, unpublished. Cf. *Jemenica,* 145, no. 1093.

158 *Al-Amthāl,* 36, no. 100; *Jemenica,* 114, no. 818.

goats from the city to pasture under the care of a shepherd. Whereas, however, at one time within living memory of such scholars as Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, there used to be four families of shepherds (*ru'āh*) in Ṣan'ā', there is now only one family, al-Qa'ṭabī, which follows this occupation. The shepherd's clients would be scattered over a number of quarters (*ḥārah*) of the town more or less in proximity to one another, or else on his way to the pasture-land to which he would conduct the animals. Pasturing over the fields lying fallow is subject to no restrictions[159] in the Yemen by the owners of the land. As the shepherd goes out in the morning he passes by the houses and shouts out his customary call—at which the people of the house open the door and let out their animals. The shepherd collects (*yujammi'-hā*) them from sunrise (*al-shurūq*) up to high morning (*rakzat al-shams*),[160] and from 5 p.m. he returns with them to their places—each *ghanamah* knows the house of its owner. If one of the *ghanam* gives birth he brings back the lamb under his arm[161] to Ṣan'ā'.

If land has the sheep of its owner pasturing on it, others will not be allowed to graze their animals there, and naturally all shepherds know who has sheep and who has not—but in the latter case the landowner will not bother if the shepherd grazes over his land. You cannot graze on pasture belonging to others except by permission previously obtained. If sheep-and-goats enter land and eat of the pasture (*mar'ā*) the fine is the milk of a night (*al-balā bi-badhr laylah, badhr,* lit., crop). This means that the (she)-goat (*ma'iz*) will be milked the milk of a night (*sa-taḥlub ḥalīb laylah*) and thus pay the fine. The people of Bīr al-'Azab have their own pasture, those of 'Aṣir theirs, and so also Shu'ūb and the rest of the districts neighbouring Ṣan'ā'.

In the older days the shepherd would receive an eighth of a Maria Theresa dollar (*thumn riyāl Faranṣī*), i.e., five *buqshahs*[162] per animal, and as he would sometimes have as many as 200 to 300 head, this would come to quite a tidy sum. Some of the big families (*buyūtāt*) would treat the shepherd generously (*tukrim al-rā'ī*) and give him a piece of bread as well, this being known as *al-ṣabūḥ*. The shepherd would also get the wool (*ṣūf*) of the *ghanam* (sheep-and-goats), and he or his wife would manage the spinning (*ghazl*) of it into balls (*maghzal*).

Types of sheep which have come to my notice in Ṣan'ā' or the near-by districts are the *baladī* sheep with a fleece, and the *Tihāmī* which has a smooth coat, originating as it presumably does from the hot western plains. In the Qā' Jahrān plain south of Ṣan'ā' we noticed the *Bawnī* which had a fleece and the *Birrī* bred for meat, with no woollen fleece, but belly-fat (*tharbah*) and a fat tail (*ilyah*). In the Baraṭ region there was the *Barṭī* without a fleece, and *al-Māribī*, a small white sheep. In 'Amrān district the *'Ajawī* is killed while small, still suckling. A type *Khawlānī* is also known in Ṣan'ā'. No doubt there are many more. There also seem to be cross-breeds.

The shepherd is of course responsible for the animals under his care. Al-Hādī's views on this subject in the 9th/10th century A.D. have been recorded by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī.[163]

> I asked him about a shepherd (*rā'ī*) with whom are camels or sheep-and-goats, or other animals—is he responsible (*ḍāmin*) for any that go (missing)? He said, 'If, on his part, there is a cause in which there is clear negligence (*tafrīṭ*)[164] responsibility for any of them that have gone missing attaches to him—but there is no responsibility (*ḍamān*) upon him for what a wolf or robbers take from him by force.' I said, 'Is the case the same if it is taken from the shepherd by force and coercion (*'anwah wa-qahr-an*)?' He said, 'No responsibility for it attaches to him, contrary to that about which he has been negligent.' I said, 'Is it the same if a wolf eats a ewe (*shāh*), this being known, or a beast of prey (*sabu'*) mauls the camel or animal, and the shepherd brings back the wolf, or part of the skin, or part of the animal which the owner recognizes, or the shepherd produces proof of this?' He said, 'I have already given the answer to that.'

In books on tribal law problems arising where animals are pastured together are sometimes treated, and perhaps a characteristic type of regulation is that of the 'Awdhalīs[165] in the former Western Aden Protectorate who made the shepherd responsible for the loss of an animal which he accidentally kills when throwing a stone at it to make it turn in a different direction—providing the animal was at the rear of the flock. If a man loses an animal he will go about the Quarter crying out, *'Yā man liqi 'l-ṭaliyy/ al-bahīmah, raḥim Allāh wālid-ah*, Whoever comes on the lamb/ donkey, may God rest his father.' That is to say—blessings on the man (lit. of course his father) who tells me where the animal is. A shepherd (*rā'ī*) called Sanbul used to do this in Bustān al-Sulṭān (1973).

There is quite a different regulation (*qā'idah*) for the *murābi'*, i.e., the person who rears an animal belonging to another person on the basis of receiving a share in its meat, as in the verse of the poet Muḥammad al-Dhahbānī,[166] speaking of a *rabā'ah 'ind khabbāz*, a male reared by a baker—to be shared out at the Feast of 'Īd al-Naḥr. One says, *'Nurabbī-hā bi-'l-nuṣṣ/al-thulth*, We rear it on the basis (of receiving) a half/third', in accordance with the agreement made between the two parties depending upon what each provides. A *rabī'* is the term applied to a person who hires

159 In tribal areas in South Arabia there is of course the *maḥjar* or interdicted pasture, but this would apply to grazing land only. In 1057/1647 according to *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā*, 22b, 'The Imām (al-Mutawakkil) ordered pasturelands in owned grounds to be made free (*ibāḥat al-marā'ī fi 'l-amlāk*) (to anyone) and that owners (*mullāk*) should be restrained by exhortation from interdicting them (*taḥajjur-hā*)', but in 1074/1664, there was an affray in Ḥarāz district because of the interdicting of pasture (*maḥjar al-mar'ā*) about which the judges' decisions (*aḥkām al-ḥukkām*) differed, each party held to the view of an Imām. Discussing the subject, the *Sharḥ al-Azhār*, III, 324, says, *'Taḥajjur* (in the sense of interdicting land or making it exclusive to all but oneself) is established by setting up (land) marks (*ḍarb al-a'lām*) on the sides (of it). Whosoever wishes to restrict a (piece of) land or trees sets up marks at the side of them. He either sets up (*naṣaba*) stones, or makes a long ditch (*khandaq*) or ties some of the branches of the trees to the others, so that he becomes restricting what lies behind that. As for the ditch itself he becomes possessor of it by virtue of excavating (it). . . . When one interdicts a place it is permissible for him to prevent others from bringing it into cultivation (*iḥyā'uh*) and from cutting its trees and fruits (*ashjār wa-wa-thimār*) because he has come to have a superior right to it (*aḥaqq bihi*).' Other less important conditions are also stipulated. Cf. *Jemenica*, 60, no. 353.

In Dhū Muḥammad country, as I was told in Jabal Baraṭ in 1973, a proclamation is made by a *ẓāhirah* (proclamation) of one's intentions to make a *maḥjar*, i.e. *bilād maḥjūrah*, the actual announcement being made by a *dawshān*. *'Ismā'ū, ṣallū 'ala 'l-nabiyy—inna-hum yiqūlū lakum Dhū Muḥammad annahum ḥājirīn buq'at filān ilā nihāyat ḥijrat-hā—awwal al-ṣayf ḥijrah ilā nihāyat al-ṣayf wa-'l-kharīf, wa-tubāḥ fi 'l-shitā'*, Oyez, bless the Prophet. Dhū Muḥammad say to you that they interdict such and such an area up to the termination of its being a *maḥjar* (interdicted pasture), (from) the first of summer to the end of summer and autumn, but it is open (for pasture) in winter.' The period of the interdiction was defined as *awwal al-tis' ilā nisf al-qayẓ, ma'a thamarat al-dhirah fi awwal al-shitā'*. In the Baraṭ calendar this would be from Shubāṭ (commencing about mid-February) to the stars known as *al-Rawābi'*. For *maḥājir* see R. Traini, *I manoscritti . . . della Fondazione Caetani*, Roma, 1967, 68, and for *taḥajjur* and *ḥimā*, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, IV, 74,77. Maḥjar al-Aḥjir is a seat of the Sharaf al-Dīn Sayyids (*Diwān* . . . Muḥ. Sharaf al-Dīn, Cairo, n.d. 138). A more ancient evidence of the existence of the institution is in the Prophet's letter to the lords (*aqwāl*) of Shabwah confirming them in their possession of, inter alia, their salt and their *maḥjar*, (Muḥ. Ḥamidullāh, *Majmu'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyyah*, 3rd edit. Beirut, 1969, 204).

160 Class. Ar. *al-ḍuḥā*.

161 Called in Ṣan'ā' *ḥuḍn*, in Ta'izz, *ḥijf*, verb *iḥtajaf*.

162 At the time of writing, at the rate of 40 *buqshahs* to the *riyāl*.

163 *K. al-Muntakhab*, op. cit.

164 Cf. p.231b.

165 A stone would be thrown at the leader of the flock when one wishes to turn it in a different direction, but without the intention of actually hitting it.

166 *Al-Anghām al-sha'biyyah*, Ta'izz, 1969 , 32. Also *murāba'ah* and *ribā'ah* is the action of sharing in rearing of an animal. Goitein, 'Portrait of a weavers' village', 14, describes, in the lower Yemen, the contract as follows, 'A general form of capital investment was *mushtarā*, common property of cows shared by a Jew and qabīli. The qabīli kept the cow, feeding it and taking its milk, while he shared the offspring with his Jewish partner.' A rich Jew might have as much as a hundred *mushtarāt*.

In passing it may be observed that when it is desired to stop a grown kid sucking, its mother's teats are covered with a bag called in Ṣan'ā', *shimālah*.

a cow, receiving a quarter in return for feeding it and half of its calves. Where a Ṣan'ānī family had a cow or cows they were kept in a stable (*ḥarr*) or courtyard (*ḥawsh*) and looked after by old women (*al-nisā' al-'awāqil*),[167] but the cow did not go out to pasture.

Articles Prohibited from Human Consumption

Islamic ulema have, at various times, prohibited or inveighed against the use of coffee, tea, *qāt*, tobacco and other substances, but coffee fairly soon became respectable and is even associated with the saint 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī (ob. 821/1418) whose tomb at Mocha is well known, and one speaks of *qahwat al-ṣāliḥīn*, the coffee of the pious, it being commended (like *qāt* in some circles) as an aid to the performance of religious duties in the watches of the night. Tea has also long been accepted and tobacco, if not entirely approved by all, is in general use.

The narcotics, opium and hashish, are of course prohibited by Islamic *fuqahā'*, but hashish (known as *nūriyah*) is grown in the countryside round Ibb and smoked after chewing *qāt*, though this is against the law. Hashish has however a long history in South Arabia and is listed among the commodities taxed at Aden about 1400 A.D. In one case it was evidently associated with Ṣūfism for in the early 11th/17th century the Imām al-Manṣūr billāh al-Qāsim killed a Ṣūfī in Ṣan'ā' whose irreligious conduct included the fact that he used 'to eat hashish in the way a donkey eats.'[168]

Grapes grow well in the Yemen and throughout the Islamic period the ulema have waged a long battle against wine-drinking, commencing at least from the days of the first Zaydī Imām al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq,[169] and probably much earlier. To take a case in point, the ruling Imām in 594/1197-8 poured out all the wine in the houses famed for it in Ṣan'ā'.[170]

The Turks of the first Ottoman occupation forbade wine to Muslims, but others of them indulged in it till, about 1034/1624-5, it was sold openly in the Ṣan'ā' markets as if it had never been forbidden in the Holy Book.[171] When the Zaydīs drove out the Ottomans they took severe measures against the Jews selling wine. Indeed the Jews, who can legally manufacture wine and *'araqī* for their own consumption in an Islamic state, are recurrently in trouble for selling it to Muslims whether of their own free will or under pressure. During the second Ottoman occupation, Zabārah,[172] listing the vices of the Turks, tells us picturesquely that, under their rule, 'wines appeared like cool water', and 'the inviolable graves of the Muslims were destroyed and walls and *khāns* built with the stones from them.'

Jarmūzī[173] alludes to wine as being openly sold in the markets of Ḥaḍramawt, though I imagine this was confined to the coastal centres, not the cities of the interior, and the Sultan even imposed a duty (*qānūn*) on it, but the *faqīh* Badr stopped this (*kasara-hā*).

Wine is still made quite widely, but with much secrecy, in the north, and would be impounded in Ṣan'ā' and the persons apprehended with it would be punished. I discovered a real sentiment of contempt among most northern tribesmen for persons, Muslims, who drink alcoholic beverages. Though the Jews have departed some time ago wine is said still to be sold in the Qā' al-Yahūd area. Spirits imported from the West have been coming into the Yemen even before 1962 though at that time they were consumed in considerable fear of discovery by the organisation appointed for *al-amr bi-'l-ma'rūf wa-'l-nahy 'an al-munkar.*

Qāt

Qāt (*Catha edulis*) has attracted the keen interest of foreign visitors to the Yemen, most of whom discuss the chewing of it with various degrees of prejudice such as the European missionary attitude quoted by Hugh Scott,[174] and the Egyptian propagandist booklet *al-Yaman bayn al-qāt wa-fasād al-ḥukm.*[175] Since as a social habit it plays an important part in Ṣan'ānī life a few observations about it are justified here. Scott, despite his own bias, for he calls *qāt* chewing 'a noxious form of drug-addiction',[176] provides quite a good description of the chewing of the young leaves, leaf-buds and shoots of *Catha edulis*, in the thirties which would be true of today. In the *mafraj* Sayyids and other wealthy people hold large *qāt*-chewing parties, often repeated day after day among the same persons. These parties are usually preceded by lunch and coffee; chewing begins about two o'clock in the

Fig. 12.1 The *qāt* plant (*Catha edulis*)

afternoon and for those who only work in the morning or do no work at all, it lasts till eight o'clock. Noon and afternoon prayers are said before the party begins, while the sunset and evening prayers are said together after it ends. 'As many as from twenty to forty persons may be crowded into an ill-ventilated room. Windows and doors are shut and several hubble-bubble pipes are lit. The participants sit round the walls, each with a bundle of *qāt* and a spittoon in front of him. When a man has chewed for some time, swallowing only the juice of the plant, his cheeks become uncomfortably distended with a green paste of chewed leaves . . . this paste is then ejected, with the aid of a finger, into a spittoon. The man then drinks noisily from a cruse of water, swilling out the mouth and often also swallowing water to assuage thirst.' The distaste Scott felt for the *qāt* session is hardly disguised!

Foreigners resident in Ṣan'ā' in more recent years often take a more liberal attitude to *qāt* chewing than this, and some even participate. As a social habit the *qāt madkā*[177] has many advantages—it is a place where much business is transacted, politics

167 Properly 'wise women' but rendered as *ṭā'ināt fi 'l-sinn.*
168 Al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-ṭāli'*, II, 49.
169 *Sīrat al-Hādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq*, 69, 80, where a man of Yām is meted out eighty lashes and dies, passim.
170 *A'immat al-Yaman*, I, 117, *al-durr al-mashhūrah bi-dhālika.*
171 *Ghāyat al-amānī*, 819.
172 *A'immat al-Yaman*, (2), II, 65.
173 *Al-Sīrat al-Mutawakkiliyyah*, 257; cf. my *Portuguese off the South Arabian coast*, 30, 176.
174 Naval Intelligence Division, B. R. 527, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea.* Geographical Handbook Series, Oxford, 1946, 463; *In the High Yemen*, 94-5.
175 Muḥ. al-Sayyid Ayyūb, Cairo, 1963, though it includes some useful information. The usual clichés are to be found in Mohamed Said El Attar, *Le sous-développment économique et social du Yemen*, Alger, 1964, 123, who states that the properties of *qāt* lie between those of cocaine and opium, and speaks of its *effet narcotique*! This biased, and highly inaccurate book has been widely circulated, and as might be expected repeats the myth that coffee has been rooted up to make way for *qāt*—which, were it true, is at any rate good economic sense, as coffee was not selling well abroad whereas *qāt* was. Neither is noted for nutritive properties.
176 Loc. cit. A *qāt* session is described by Nazīh, *Riḥlah*, I, 61.
177 *Madkā*, pl., *madākī*, the cushions in the *mafraj* which give the session its name. In Aden one speaks of *ṃabraz al-qāt.*

discussed, or literary gatherings, especially before the 1962 coup d'état, take place. Conversation starts in a fairly animated way but as the *qāt* begins to take effect the company gradually falls silent and a slightly glazed look comes over the eyes—the main sound being the soft bubbling of the water-pipe as the long tube is passed around—but the sense of comfort and relaxation, and, doubtless, the pleasant musings of the participants at this stage described as waking dreams (*ḥulm al-yaqẓah*), pleasant atmosphere (*jaww laṭīf*)—one swims in thought (*yisbaḥ fi'l-fikr*), are much more attractive than the stridency of a Western cocktail party. Less pleasing is the discharge of the *qāt*-cud into spittoons (*matāfil/madāfil*) and the avid swilling of water to quench the drought that *qāt* induces—but Yemenis drink water with a sound like the last water swirling down the plug-hole of a bath anyway!

Both men and women chew *qāt* and smoke the water-pipe, not of course at the same *madkā* in this segregated society.

One of the most balanced reports on the *qāt* situation is that of the Qat Commission of Inquiry,[178] published by the Aden Government in 1958, after the ban on the import of *qāt* to Aden imposed by the Legislative Council at the instance of certain Arab Adenese members. The Report of the United Nations Narcotics Commission having proved unhelpful in view of the conflict of opinion on the *qāt* question among the delegates, the Commission sought the views of Aden Medical Service doctors. They

> expressed the opinion that there is no evidence that the *qāt* habit is dangerously injurious to health. It does cause constipation, but it has never been suggested that it may seriously damage the body as may tobacco, which is alleged to cause lung cancer, or alcohol, which may cause liver complaints. *Qāt* does not create an addiction, like opium or hashish, in that those who are suddenly deprived of it, do not suffer physical consequences. Deprivation may cause mental distress, but that is all. Confirmed *qāt* eaters who are deprived of the leaf, when they visit foreign countries, quickly adapt themselves to its absence.

In the first place, then, *qāt* is not a narcotic in the correct use of the term. Unlike tobacco it does not seem particularly addictive, and Imām Yaḥyā for instance is stated to have given it up, not because he disapproved of it, but simply on medical advice. Moderate *qāt*-fanciers will attend or hold a *qāt*-session as a form of relaxation at varying intervals during which they never touch the leaf. If a person over-indulges in *qāt* as other individuals might do in other stimulants this in itself is no reason to condemn the *qāt* habit. It has certain displeasing short term after-effects such as sleeplessness, irritability and constipation as already mentioned, but it has yet to be proven that it has any long-term deleterious effects on the body. It is widely used in the Yemen—yet the Yemenis are a sturdy race upon which the writer has seen no apparent general ill effect, whereas on the contrary, where malnutrition exists, its signs are unmistakeable.

The most serious accusation against *qāt*-fanciers is that they spend so much on this expensive diversion that the *qāt*-fancier who indulges himself beyond his means is left a portion of his income quite inadequate to spend on the purchase of food for his family and himself.[179] This is no new problem—in Aden some thirty years ago one not uncommonly heard *qāt*-fanciers complain that they spent most of their wages on it. While *qāt* may be a social problem in Ṣan'ā' and other parts of the Yemen, the problem of over-indulgence in illegal stimulants, doubtless on a still very restricted scale, mainly in the few larger towns, would or does have similar results. That *qāt* cultivation takes up an undue amount of agricultural land is patently nonsense when one surveys the country from the air, and this is borne out by the figure of 5% quoted earlier.[180] Moreover the *qāt*-shrub grows easily and requires little attention.

Although, in general, our study of Ṣan'ā' does not aim to take us beyond September 1962, it might be remarked that during our stay there in 1972 the Yemeni Government took steps toward an attempt at limiting consumption of *qāt*[181] and started a campaign against it. This appears to have provoked a sharp reaction from a religious quarter against the importation of alcohol, at that time legitimate, for (ostensibly) foreigners. A lorry-load of bottles was destroyed outside the northern Khanādiq and the privilege withdrawn.

Apart from the literary assemblies, the salons of Ṣan'ā', where *qāt* is chewed and tobacco smoked, poems in praise of *qāt* figure in the Yemeni *dīwāns* to be found, for example, in the Vatican Library.[182] Imām Yaḥyā's celebrated poetic debate with Amīn al-Rayḥānī's travelling companion Qusṭanṭīn, in which he defends *qāt* against the latter's attacks are fairly widely known in modern Arabic literature.[183] The *Mufākharah bayn al-Qahwah wa-'l-Qāt*,[184] or Boasting Match between Coffee and Qāt, of Aḥmad al-Mu'allimī belonging to a Shāfi'ī family of 'Utumah, that was composed in the 19th century, is a contest in prose and verse between Coffee personified as a woman and Qāt as a man, on their virtues superior the one to the other and is of typical *maqāmah* genre. Nor was a fondness for *qāt* any reproach from a religious viewpoint by about the 12th/18th century, at least to judge by the biography of a grandson of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl[185] who liked well-being and literature, *taṣawwuf*, retreat into seclusion, worship, prayer, and who had a fondness for eating *qāt* (*al-wulū' bi-akl al-qāt*).

There is indeed a Yemeni saying, *'Al-qāt qūt al-ṣāliḥīn, Qāt* is the food of the upright/pious.' This could be because it enables the man of religion to spend his night in study or religious exercises. This may be contrasted with the slogan I recall seeing in one of the more modern Ṣan'ā' eating-places, *'Al-Qāt qātil, Qāt* kills!' A well known adage[186] is *'Qad sakhkhaṭ Allāh al-Yahūd bi-'l-'araqī wa-'l-Muslimīn bi-'l-qāt,* God has troubled the Jews with *'araqī* and the Muslims with *qāt*!' This rueful note is also expressed in, *'Al-qāt ṭayyib, mā akrah minn-ah, Qāt* is nice, but there is nothing worse than it!'[187] *'Qāt* and tea bring

178 Aden Colony. *Report of the Qat Commission of Inquiry,* (Government Printer, Aden, 1958), 10-11. The Commission was constituted of Sir Bernard Reilly, a former Governor of Aden and a lawyer, E. W. Nunn. Wise recommendations included that the price of *qāt* be kept as low as possible and excessive consumption be discouraged. The commonsense statement was made that, 'The ban gravely interfered with wide-spread social habits of long standing and is naturally the cause of resentment and discontent.' An experienced officer of the Aden Government, the late E.R. Johnson, in private conversation, considered the ban an unwarranted interference with the rights of the individual parallel to depriving a non-Muslim of tobacco and alcohol—which of course were under no ban.

179 *Nash al-'arf,* II, 180, mentions a learned scholar of the early 12th/18th century so fond of *qāt* that he preferred it to *qūt* (food). The journal *al-Ḥikmat al-Yamāniyah,* Ṣan'ā', 1358/1939-40, in an article on the economy of the Yemen, speaks of the cultivator's waste on *qāt* and tobacco, so that the land is not properly cultivated!

180 See p. 18b.

181 Cf. 'Qarār li-maṣlaḥat al-sha'b', published as *Kitāb al-Shahr,* Ṣan'ā', June, 1972, no. 3., by Wizārat al-I'lām.

182 Cf. *Nashr al-'arf,* I, 208, *passim.* 'Abdullāh Muḥ. al-Ḥabshī, *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt al-Yamaniyyah fi Ḥaḍramawt,* Aden, 1974, 72, no. 382, cites a *Risālah fi madḥ shajarat al-qāt,* at al-Ghurfah. The so-called Maktabat al-Sha'b of al-Mukallā in this catalogue seems to disguise the Library of the Jāmi' Mosque founded by the Qu'ayṭī Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ.

183 Qusṭanṭīn's poem and Imām Yaḥyā's riposte are quoted by 'Abdullāh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jirāfī, *al-Muqtaṭaf min tārīkh al-Yaman,* Cairo, 1951, 229 seq., and doubtless in many other places. Cf. Ameen Rihani, *Arabian Peak and Desert,* 210.

184 A humorous composition replete with numerous literary allusions of which I have an edition in an advanced state of preparation. The original text in one Ms. makes Coffee vanquish Qāt, but the doctored Ambrosiana text quite cleverly turns the result of the contest into a draw, perhaps to please a patron with a fondness for *qāt*!

185 *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 729.

186 Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato,* 165; *Jemenica,* 116, no. 840.

187 Rossi, loc. cit.

catastrophe, *Qāt wa-shāhī tijlib 'l-dawāhī'* is said of a person who brings two evils upon himself. No doubt it is the *qāt*-fancier who says, *'Ṣabāḥ al-qāt, wa-lā ṣabāḥ al-banāt, Qāt* in the morning, not girls in the morning.'[188]

There is some uncertainty as to when *qāt* first appeared in the Yemen, but there is more or less general agreement that the use of it was introduced from Abyssinia. Al-Maqrīzī[189] (ob. 845/1442) gives a description of *qāt* as found in Abyssinia, but it was not until 950/1543 that, says the author of *Ghāyat al-amānī*,[190] 'the *qāt* tree appeared and became abundant in the Yemen. The Imām Sharaf al-Dīn (ob. 965/1558) took the view that it should be prohibited (*ra'ā taḥrīma-hā*) and ordered his son al-Muṭahhar to order people to uproot it because he saw a person who had lost countenance (*taghayyar*)[191] and he was told that what had made him lose countenance came from eating *qāt*, so the Imām added it to the other things that cause loss of countenance. God is most knowing. In this year also the coffee (*bunn*) tree appeared, and people profited greatly from it.' Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānisī[192] tells us that Sharaf al-Dīn considered it a *bid'ah* (heretical innovation) like tobacco and wrote against it, 'and commanded trees of it to be cut in all the districts (*nawāḥī*) acting strictly over this . . . yet much (revenue) used to come as income from the tithes on it (*mu'ashsharāt*) to the Treasury (*Bayt al-Māl*) but he took no account of that.'

The subject of the lawfulness or otherwise of *qāt*-chewing is discussed by no less an authority than the great Shāfi'ī scholar and legist Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī[193] (ob. 973/1565 or, more likely, 994/1587) of Mecca, as follows.

> I received three books composed by the ulema of the Yemen on the prohibition of *kaftah*[194] and *qāt*, a plant well known in the Yemen and Abyssinia, whose people eat it much, and the Imām of the Zaydiyyah, Sharaf al-Dīn, took the view that in this plant there are noxious properties (*maḍārr*), and his proclamation was spread abroad in the mountains and towns under his rule (*ḥukm*) to strictly prevent eating and planting it, accompanied by severe threat to anyone disobeying, and he continued to take severe action over the matter until it disappeared from his country. Then he asked for a legal opinion (*istaftā*) of the ulema of the Shāfi'iyyah in the Yemen, and a body of them collected/composed (*ṣannaf*) for him, and he himself composed (*ṣannaf*) a book, copying down in it a proof supported by (Islamic) Traditions (*mabḥath ḥadīthī*) from certain virtuous (*fuḍalā'*) sons of it (Yemen?), all of them agreeing on (its) unlawfulness (*ḥurmah*). Then he sent those books to Mecca so that I might peruse them and give him clear proof of the truth of the problem. Now, when I came to those books I learned that their authors had taken their stand on the prohibition which they (the books) contained, only in that it (*qāt*) has highly noxious properties (*maḍārr*), including turning the face yellow (*tasfīr*) and the dissipation of (sexual) power (*inḥilāl al-quwwah*); others were the over-production of semen (*takthīr al-madhy*) and the breaking down of the constitution so that it becomes impossible to retain it—to the extent that the (*qāt*)-eater is absolutely unable to perform a valid prayer.[195]

Further details follow, and Ibn Ḥajar continues with their argument,

> So that both their mosques and clothing are impure (*najisah*) and anything else in contact with them. Other (properties) are that it prevents conception and renders the ability for sexual intercourse (*quwwat al-jimā'*) ineffective—to such an extent that the women of Ta'izz (a town in the Yemen)[196] went to its Sultan 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ṭāhir (894-923/1489-1517) on the occasion of one of his comings to the city, to complain to him of their husbands' loss of desire for them through over-indulgence in it—so he ordered the men to be prevented from eating it. But their means of subsistence broke down, and the conditions of that kingdom had decayed on account of the ineffectiveness in the powers of its menfolk, and the Sultan took the view that the evil (*mafsadah*) arising from their not eating it was the more acute, so he took into account the greater interest (*maṣlaḥah*) and permitted the men to eat it. This was the sum of what those books contained.
>
> When I learned that the authors had come to their conclusions solely because of the detrimental/noxious qualities in this, I said, 'Before making any pronouncement in this matter the physicians have to be consulted.' Then I went to the Khān[197] (of Mecca) and related the case to him and showed him those books so as to see what he thought about that from the medical and other points of view, and he spoke about (the case) concerning what was in conformity with principles (*qawā'id*) in respect of medicine and other things. Then he said, 'The safest thing would be for us to seek clarification by consulting the view of someone concerned with the science of medicine.' So he summoned the Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ḥakīm, the best acquainted with medicine of those in Mecca, and we informed him of the case in its entirety. 'As for *qāt*,' he said, 'I am acquainted with it, since I was in the Yemen, but as for the noxious/detrimental qualities mentioned of it in these books I did use to hear that some of them are found in it.' I said to him, that he must make a pronouncement on the question to us in accordance with medical principles (*al-qawānīn al-ṭibbiyyah*). 'This,' he said, 'is impossible because the Imāms of medicine and those who made pronouncements (*al-mutakallimūn*) about herbs and plants have neither mentioned nor discussed this plant.'

The physician adopted the attitude that for a medical opinion to be promulgated experiments must first be made with *qāt*, but Mecca, he argued, was not a suitable place to do so on account of the heat etc., and he refused to give a decision. Ibn Ḥajar therefore composed his *Takhdīr al-dhāt min akl al-kaftah wa-'l-qāt*,[198] the gist of which, he informs us, is that eating it should be avoided as far as possible. He adds however,

> As for an outright decision on its being forbidden (*al-jazm*[199] *bi-'l-taḥrīm*), before any of those noxious/detrimental qualities are established as existing in it in a legal way (*ṭarīq shar'ī*), that is a conjecture (*mujāzafah*) about religion and a departure from the customary procedures (*sunan*) of

188 Qāḍī Ismā'īl's unpublished collection.

189 Cited by El Attar who, incorrectly, calls it *al-Imām*. He avers that *qāt* is first mentioned 'dans un manuscrit unique' of Muḥ. b. 'Alī Najīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (ob. 619/1222), *al-Qarābādhin*. . . . In fact many Mss. of this treatise are available. *Western Arabia*, op. cit., 492, says *qāt* was brought from Ethiopia to Hodeidah in 1430 by a Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Zahrayn, without quoting a source. Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, 22, adds 'Before Kat is taken at a gathering, the Fatiha, or opening chapter of the Koran is recited, after invoking a blessing on the 'Sheikh of Kat', one Ibn Zarbain'. This probably applies only to the Lower Yemen.

190 Op. cit., II, 689.

191 So rendered from Dozy, *Supplément*, but literally of course it means 'he altered.'

192 *Fatḥ al-ma'būd fī dhikr ijlā' al-Yahūd* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānisī, Ms. transcript lent me by Sayyid 'Abdullāh al-Ḥabshī.

193 Or al-Haythamī, in his *Riyāḍ al-riḍwān*, reproduced by Ulughkhānī, *An Arabic history of Gujarat*, ed. E. Denison Ross, Indian Text Series, London, 1910-28, I, 356-8. Ibn Ḥajar prefaces this chapter with an account of a discussion held in Mecca on the lawfulness of nutmeg (*jawzat al-ṭīb*), *ḥashīshah*, *sunbul* (presumably hyacinth), and mare's milk (*laban al-ramakah*) for human consumption. Cf. O. Löfgren and R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, Vicenza, 1976, 198, for questions by Ṣan'ā' scholars in 959/1542-3 on *bunn*, *qahwah*, *qāt*, *kaftah*, *bang*, *hashish*, *afyūn*, probably to Ibn Ḥajar.

194 *Kaftah* is an infusion of *qāt*.

195 Being ritually impure.

196 Probably Ulughkhānī's gloss.

197 This looks like an Indian term for a Turkish official.

198 Elsewhere, e.g. in the Cairo Dār al-Kutub catalogue, VII, 195, it is entitled *Taḥdhīr al-thiqāt*. . . .

199 Al-Mu'allimī nevertheless in his *maqāmah* makes Coffee allude to Ibn Ḥajar's *jazm bi-taḥrīm al-qāt*.

the practising ulema.[200] As for the adducing proof of the prohibition (*taḥrīm*) of it from the (same) proofs the ulema have adduced from the Traditions and other (sources) with regard to the prohibition of *ḥashīshah*, this is out of place because the ulema have probed into the circumstances of *ḥashīshah* and what is caused by it, over numerous centuries until they knew (what) judgement was required on it, and came to an outright decision in regard to it, without disagreement among them about it, the physicians concurring with them in regard to the noxious properties/detriment and (effects) of loss of sensation[201] it has. There is no analogy between it and this unknown plant the *kayf*[202] of which is not known, nor what is caused by it. It is like the drink recently introduced, called *qahwah* (coffee)—the ulema of Egypt, Mecca, the Yemen and elsewhere have differed over it, so each proffered an opinion, or wrote regarding it, on such detriment (*maḍarrah*) or benefit (*manfa'ah*) as was evident to him, but the truth is that no prohibition (*taḥrīm*) applies to it except in the case of a person in whose body there is an ailment with which it is incompatible, such as consuming atrabiliousness (*al-sawdā' al-muḥriqah*), seeing that it is recognised that it will harm him.

Ibn Ḥajar's attitude on the *qāt* question was evidently politic and moderate. Certain of the effects claimed to be produced by *qāt* by the Shāfi'ī ulema of the Yemen, as he reports, seem fictional. However it may be, there is a vast difference between the situation as seen by the ulema when Ibn Ḥajar was writing, in the latter part of the 16th century, and that implicit in the regulations of *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*. The *Qānūn* aims at making *qāt* available on a fair basis of distribution to a society long used to it. The sources consulted remain silent in the interval upon the *qāt* question. May it be assumed that Imām Sharaf al-Dīn's ban simply became a dead letter? Consultation of Zaydī books of law might give hints of a change of attitude to *qāt* on the part of the ulema.

The medicinal qualities of *qāt* are ignored by its detractors but recognized at least, by one author.[203]

In *Nūr al-abṣār wa-jilā' khawāṭir al-afkār* of the shaykh Aḥ. b. 'Abdullāh b. Ismā'īl al-Dhananī (?) al-Wāqidī al-Ḥārithī,[204] he says, *verbatim*, 'Let us return to our present concern, seeing that is what is intended, namely the account of the *qāt*-shrub, its effects (*af'āl*), its powers and special properties. The nature (of *qāt*) is cold, dry in the second degree.[205] The effects and special properties found in it are causing constipation (*qabḍ*) and deprivation of sensation (*takhdīr*) accompanied by a slight temperature (*ḥarārah*) depending on the degree of costiveness that occurs in the organs, in which there may be a mild temperature. Dry *kaftah* (pounded *qāt* from which an infusion is made) is more severely constipating than it is. Crushed leaves of it with vinegar and opium alleviate throbbing when it arises from a temperature, and, (when taken) with yoke of egg and saffron, in (the case of) cold.

'Swellings and pustules (*buthūr*)—it is efficacious against hot swellings, especially with vinegar and ceruse (*isfidāj*); with flour of beans (*bāqillā*) and gruel (*sawiq*) it alleviates the smarting of scrofula (*nākhis al-khanāzīr*) and, with coriander (*kuzbarah*), resolves the swelling (caused by) it. Wounds and ulcers (*qurūḥ*)—it helps against them and dries them up, especially when burned and applied in oil of roses. The organs of the head—when taken in a known quantity after food it prevents the vapour that mounts to the head from the phlegm in moist things (*marṭūbūn*). It cures from epilepsy (*ṣar'*), and its efficacy in (the case of) nightmare is tried out by experience.'

((I have) confidence in what he recounts for I have tried it out, and when some sprigs of it are taken on going to sleep this is truly so).

'Powder (*dharūr*) of dry leaves of it with vinegar stops nosebleeding, ameliorates lesion (*nakbah*) in the mouth and drives away bad breath, but there is a sort which causes pustules to break out in the mouth. The organs of the eye—a sprig of it burned with a sprig of quince takes the place of flowers of zinc (*maghsūl*[206] *al-tūtiya*) for sharp sight, itching, tumours of the eye-lid (*sulāq*), vascular opacity of the cornea[207] (*sabal*) and for drying watering (of the eye). It prevents (also) throbbing of the eye, and application of its leaves prevents the eye running. The organs of the chest—it brings the heart complete relief, expands the soul, rejoices it, removes depression and melancholy (*al-waḥshah wa-'l-waswās*), hot palpitation (*khafaqān*), introspective thoughts (? *al-khawāṭir al-nafsāniyyah*), and removes anxieties (*kurab*) when taken in a known quantity, for you know that all excess is harmful. The alimentary organs—it removes nausea (*ghathayān*), dries up and takes away wateriness of the stomach (*bullat al-ma'idah*), hardens it, and induces thirst, but it is slow in descending into the intestines and is therefore retentive of the food and sets up borborigma and winds. It (*qāt*) . . .[208] colic (*maghṣ*), binds the bowels and inhibits movement, sets incontinence of urine flowing, is utterly harmful to those affected with haemorrhoids, but it alleviates haemorrage when a *mithqāl*-weight of dry powder (*daqīq*) of it is added to four ocques of tamarind water and applied to a hernia (*fatq*) along with cypress (*sarw*) leaf. . . .[209] It (*qāt*) appears to be lawful as I understand, and my discussion of it is occasioned because of the fact that doctors, whether of the ancients or the moderns, have not mentioned it.'

According to a prominent Yemeni leader, the use of *qāt* in the tribal north has greatly increased over the past forty years or so, prior to which it was little known. Tribal soldiers say it is a stand-by in war-time during the cold nights when on watch in their mountains or moving from one place to another along rocky paths in the darkness. Al-Sayāghī,[210] commenting on the regulations for *qāt* in the document of a similar type to the *Qānūn*, remarks that in his earlier days *qāt* fanciers (*mutawalli'ūn*) used not to be over fifty per cent of people, but now it is planted under every stone and in every district and all have become *qāt* fanciers—hardly five per cent of persons do not chew it. The inflation (*mughālāh*) in the price of it has grown enormously and there is no control on it or *qānūn* (regulation ?). He considers this harmful (*ḍarūrāt*, harmful things), and thinks that those in power should see to what it is necessary to do about *qāt* in the public weal. As the proverb quoted above indicates, there are many *qāt* fanciers who would agree that their penchant for *qāt* should be curbed.

In both the learned class from which the officials used mainly to be drawn and with the ordinary man in the street *qāt*

200 *Al-'ulamā' al-'āmilūn.*
201 *Takhdīr.*
202 *Kayf* is of course a well known term applied to the effect of tobacco, hashish etc., but the precise sense here is not quite certain. Wehr gives the senses of state, humour, state of mind, pleasure, well being, narcotic, opiate, etc.
203 In an anonymous note, *Fā'idah fi khawāṣṣ al-qāt*; cf. Renato Traini, *I manoscritti arabi di recente accessione della Fondazione Caetani*, Roma, 1967, 9, Ms. 316 (Rossi 16), for copies of which I am indebted to Professor Traini's kindness.
204 This author, though unknown to the standard Yemeni biographical works, is mentioned in the *qāt Mufākharah* (supra); his treatise is unknown to Brockelmann.
205 The author is referring to the four humours.
206 Conjectural emendation for the text's *mughaṭṭam*, following Max Meyerhof, *The Book of the ten treatises on the eye ascribed to Hunain Ibn Is-haq* (809-877 A.D.), Cairo, 1928, 211.
207 Meyerhof, op. cit., 191.
208 The text here is clearly corrupt, inserting a heading, 'the respiratory organs' . Some words informing of the effect of *qāt* on colic should probably be supplied.
209 At this point the text is unclear to me for a line and a half, probably corrupt, and therefore omitted.
210 See p.233 seq. There may be some exaggeration in the way in which this is expressed.

chewing is associated with that good fellowship the Englishman finds in beer drinking. One might say, 'There was a lot of fun at the *qāt*-session today, (*Fi 'l-madkā kān al-yawn nidr kathīr*). *Nidr* = *zabjah,* and a funny man is *naddār* and a joker *zabbāj.* At the *madkā* the choicest young shoots are selected for the guest, even for the non *qāt*-chewer like the writer, and thrust upon him, while if one passes through the Qāt Market when the Ṣan'ānīs are milling round to buy (*yidawwir lah takhzīnah*)[211] a man will frequently press a sprig on the foreigner in a friendly way. Each variety of *qāt* has its own distinctive qualities like wine in Europe, and the customs and lore of *qāt* are many.[212]

The writer was told in Ibb that to remove the unpleasant feeling after having taken *qāt,* the poor drink tea, the rich whisky. They say that one *yufassikh ba'd 'l-qāt*—we buy something to remove the effect or feeling (*nashtarī lanā faskh*). In a circle possibly hostile to the Sayyids it was alleged that they use a secret word for wine—al-Ḥājj Muḥammad. *Ḥafṣah* is used in Ibb as a name for hashish and in Ṣan'ā' *laḥṣah/liḥṣah*. The Ibbīs who take hashish (*ḥashshashū*) also take it in sweets (*ma'jūn*). Each group, it was averred, had names secret to itself for such things, which they use in front of others not of their own group when the occasion demands.

Measures taken against the use of *qāt* are the prohibition of its sale, import and cultivation in Sa'ūdī Arabia on August 2nd, 1971, and the banning of the consumption, sale and purchase of *qāt* instituted in Aden from January 2nd, 1977. *Qāt* trees were to be rooted up. Eight farmers of Ḍāli' in a demonstration against this measure, were, it is reported, to be shot by a firing squad but the sentence was reduced to long term imprisonment.

Tobacco

The advent of tobacco was received with disapproval by ulema throughout the Middle East generally, but though Imāms at times exerted themselves at least to restrict the use of it the addition of the Supplementary regulations for the sale of it by the early 19th century in the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* are an indication that it had by that time long won acceptance. Zabārah[213] cites a chronogram showing that the tobacco plant (*shajarat al-tutun*) appeared from the west in the year 999/1590-91), and, under the events of 1013/1604-5, *Ghāyat al-amānī*[214] states,

> In this year the tobacco plant (*shajarat al-tunbaq*), known as *tutun,* appeared in the Yemen. The shaykh 'Alī al-Maghribī brought it from the West or from India. With him he had some seeds of it—they were planted in the Yemen—and it became plentiful. Sinān (the Turkish governor of the Yemen at this date) and others of the Amīrs used it. A *waqiyyah* of it sold at a *qirsh*, but when it became plentiful a *waqiyyah* sold at a *buqshah.* The name *tutun*[215]—a Turkish word meaning smoke in Arabic—prevailed over it. Some doctors (*ḥukamā'*) stated that it has advantageous properties (*manāfi'*) such as expelling wind from the belly, digesting food, and cutting of the phlegm concealed in the chest. It is mentioned in the books of simples (*mufradāt*) of medicine. People devised utensils (*ālāt*) with which to smoke it, and invented methods of doing this, smoking it over[216] water, but some smoke it dry. Many persons of honour (*murū'āt*) consider using it among the sinful acts (*saqṭāt*),[217] and rarely does a man of note employ it but it detracts from his honour in the eyes of people of religion.

Some time in the first half of the 11th/17th century, possibly even in the days of Imām al-Qāsim (ob. 1029/1620) Tritton[218] states that 'The soldiers were addicted to tobacco so the Imām forbade its use. Some in Yifrus paid no heed to this prohibition.' He describes a quarrel when two of them both wanted to buy the same pipe-bowl—after which Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim had all tobacco burned in the streets and issued an edict, 'Whosoever sells or uses tobacco, does so at his own risk.' In 1089/1678 the Imām 'prohibited the sending up of *tutun* from the Lower Yemen to the Upper country', and, again in the same year, as he left Ṣan'ā' for Shur'at al-Raḥabah, ordered whatever tobacco (*tutun*) should be found in the city to be burned, and the utensils[219] for smoking it to be broken. People of Ṣan'ā' therefore removed it (*ghayyaba-hu*) from the markets so that it was sold in papers (*qarāṭīs*)—presumably little screws or packets.

In these actions the Zaydī Imāms were undoubtedly extremely conservative in comparison with attitudes in other parts of Arabia. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī in the first half of the 10th/16th century had declared that one should not break one's fast by smoking tobacco but Bā Makhramah a little later actually speaks of a scholar who 'followed the practice of betaking himself to breaking the fast with a smoke of *tunbāk.*'

Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwūd al-Ānisī[220] appends to his treatise defending al-Mahdī for his action in expelling the Jews from Ṣan'ā' (1675-6 A.D.), an attack on tobacco—may God wipe out its traces! The Imām, he says, forbade it to be sold or used, ordering the tobacco plants to be cut down and all traces of it obliterated—what a fine order it was, what a noble prohibition! An ounce (*waqiyyah*) of tobacco, he avers, may come to as much as eight dirhams—for something that has no part in nourishing the body and is like dry herbs (*ḍarī'*). This treatise—really a sort of propaganda of a highly learned type—must then represent the views of al-Mahdī. His sentiments regarding tobacco, to say nothing of Jews and Bāniyāns were held also by the extremist Sayyid al-Maḥaṭwarī, the 'Magician' (*sāḥir*) who rose to power in the Ḥajūr mountains in 1111/1699-70, and under the very nose of the Imām's governor, would enter the markets of the western districts of northern Yemen and prohibit tobacco and burn the tobacco pipes! He was described as,

> A sharīf whose origin is noble,
> But one not noble of deed.[221]

The literature of the polemic over tobacco is exemplified in such as the treatise of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (ob. 1163/1750) on the 'prohibition of the use of tobacco which has spread in these times.'[222] The celebrated, if somewhat turbulent scholar, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr maintained, on the contrary that tobacco is lawful and permitted (*ḥalāl mubāḥ*),[223]

211 *Takhzīnah* would be a 'chew' , a mouthful, but a *ribṭah* bundle is intended. Customs associated with *qāt* are numerous, as also ideas. For example the person who takes soup must follow by chewing *qāt*—a popular saying, because soup brings up the 'heat' for *qāt (yiṭalli' al-ḥarāah li-'l-ṭ-ḥarārah).*

212 The earlier enquiries into *qāt* are well summarised in F. M. Hunter, *Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia,* London, 1877, and reprint, 139. C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen,* Roma, 1933, 199-202 has a little on *qāt* at Ṣan'ā'. Muḥ. b. Aḥ. 'Isā al-'Aqīlī, *al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī,* al-Riyāḍ, 1958, II, i, 319, has some interesting remarks, but sources are abundant, especially the Aden press up till late 1967, and for a short time a newspaper called *al-Qāt* used to appear there. Since this chapter was written two useful works have appeared, Maxime Rodinson, 'Esquisse d' une monographie du *Qāt', Journal Asiatique,* 1977, CCLIV, 71-96; Armin Schopen, *Das Qāt: Geschichte und Gebrauche des Genusmittels Catha Edulis Forsk. in der arabischen Republik Jemen,* Wiesbaden, 1978. On p. 68 types of *qāt* are listed.

213 *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 646, *A'immat al-Yaman,* I, 506.

214 Op. cit., II, 787.

215 *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 645, gives also *ṭabāq, tabagh.*

216 Lit. 'with water'.

217 *Saqṭah* might also mean an action that detracts from a man's honour.

218 *Rise of the Imams of Ṣanaa,* Oxford-Madras, 1925, 119, based on the history of Aḥ. b. Muḥ. Ṣalāḥ al-Sharafī, but without reference to the pages of Ms. and unclear as to the date.

219 *Ṭabaq,* fol. 121 a. The words rendered 'utensils' and 'removed' are conjecturally restored from undotted letters.

220 Cf. p.418a.

221 *Nashr al-'arf,* I, 42. The verse runs,

Sharīf-un aṣlu-hu aṣl-un ḥamīd-un
Wa-lakinna fi'la-hu ghayru ḥamīd-in.

222 *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 642, *taḥrīm isti'māl al-dukhān alladhī fasha 'sti'mālu-hu fi hādhihi 'l-azmān.*

223 Ibid, II, 425.

even writing an essay[224] to show the weakness of the indications that tobacco is prohibited by way of refutation of al-Sindī who seems to have followed mostly the Mālikī school[225] in his arguments. The controversy is discussed by Zabārah[226] and the arguments for and against it—of which its expensiveness is one, are set forth. He quotes also, *in extenso*, a poem by a Ṣan'ānī or Tihāmī on the curative properties of tobacco which, were the poet to be believed, is a veritable panacea, to be applied to yellow bile, phlegm, coughs, and the ulcer (*qarḥah*) which has baffled all the doctors—to name but a few. It was not prohibited by the Prophets, says the poet, and is permissible (*jā'iz*) in *sharī'ah* law.

The water-pipe (*madā'ah*, pl., *madāyi'*) has, with the chewing of *qāt*, become an integral part of Yemeni social life, and indeed of society anywhere in southern Arabia. Some women also smoke it. The pleasant sound of the bubbling of water as the smoker draws deeply on the long pipe-stem adds a sense of deep physical contentment to the company assembled in the *mafraj*. It is polite custom in the Yemen to hand one's *madā'ah* to a companion to take the first puffs,[227] and one sees, as the pipe circulates round the company that smokers hold the mouthpiece in the hand so that their lips do not actually come into direct contact with it. When the *madā'ah* is about to go round in Ḥaḍramawt salons someone will say, *'Shī ḥabīb, shī sulṭān,* Is any sayyid or sultan here?' This is because they would be given precedence.

Yemenis say that the pipe of a man with a craving for a smoke won't light! 'The morning pipe is the pin that holds the knees together.'[228] This latter is of the man who cannot do without a smoke immediately on rising. Of a person with intense craving for tobacco or snuff (*nashūq*), they say that he has the craving of a sweeper (*kharmat khādim*),[229] and the Jews were also credited with intense cravings for tobacco, in the sayings *kharmat miwaqqir,* the craving of a (Jewish) stone-mason.[230] Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alī Zabārah one day in Ṣan'ā' quoted to me in defence of the habit,

> They find fault with me for tobacco and smoking
> Stop blaming me, I said, for the case requires it.
> Of a truth the Satan of cares stands on my chest
> And I smoke against him so as to drive him out.[231]

There is even one of those literary debates of the *maqāmah* types beloved by the Arabs called the 'Evening discourse between the friends about what there is between Qāt and Tunbāq,' cited by Zabārah[232] which might throw interesting side-lights on Yemeni attitudes to tobacco.

The Madā'ah (fig. 12.2)

Each part of the *madā'ah*, a name derived from *madā'*, a Yemeni word for the coconut, has naturally a name of its own.

Qafashah - the conical metal cover pierced with a pattern of small holes, placed over the charcoal and burning tobacco.

Būrī - the pottery bowl, glazed or unglazed, to hold the charcoal and tobacco.

Ṣaḥn - the small round brass tray to catch cinders.

Quṭb - the pipe-stem of turned wood, ornamented in various ways, e.g., inlaid (*mazrū'*) with little aluminium nails etc., or plain. It can be made traditionally in Ṣan'ā' of pear-wood (*'ambarūd*), walnut (*jawz*), or apricot (*barqūq*) wood.

Al-Multaqā - the join of the stem and coconut.

Al-Ḥabbah - the coconut containing the water of the *madā'ah*.

Ǧillās (pl. *āt*) - the brass tripod or stand for the *madā'ah*.

Qaṣabah - the snake-like pipe with a mouthpiece (*mashrab*) which

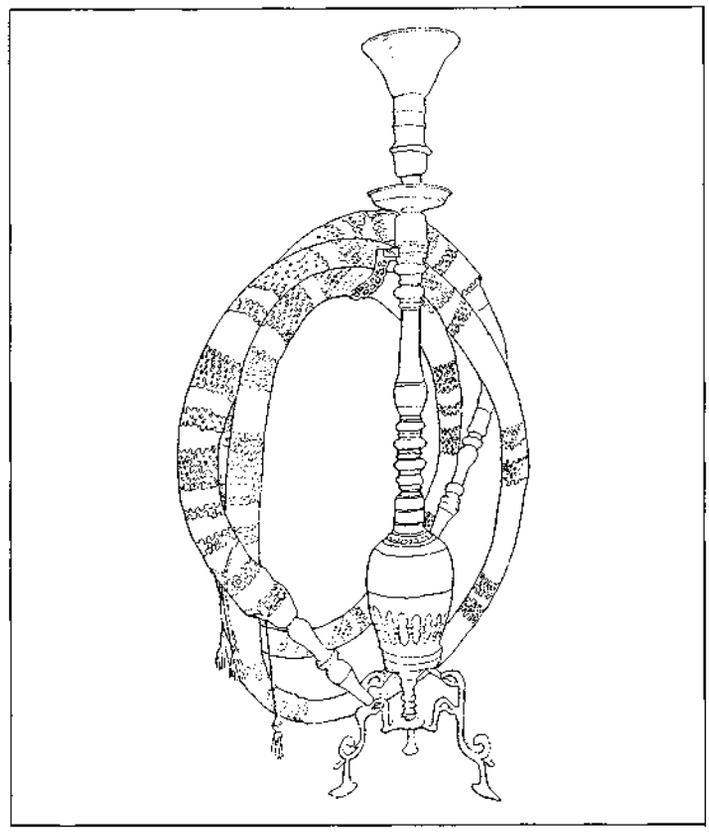

Fig. 12.2 The *Madā'ah* (water-pipe)

is ornamented (*manqūsh*) or inlaid with an aluminium nail pattern (*mazrū'*), and has a second *mashrab* at the other end to be inserted into the hole on the upper side of the coconut (*ḥabbah*). In Ṣan'ā' the *qaṣabah* is made of wire (*jarr*) of brass or copper finely twisted, but inferior pipes of plastic are sold also in the sūq nowadays; they are less springy than the metal pipe.

Makhmal - the cloth cover of the *qaṣabah*-pipe. It is usually made of scraps of brightly coloured cloth of the kinds used for women's frocks, but nowadays there is a sort of knitted *makhmal* sold by women in the Ṣan'ā' sūqs called *khawh*—a word also sometimes including the pipe itself.

Al-Dīk - the pipe is held in an ornamental brass bracket as called because of the shape it has of two confronted birds—this it seems is nowadays made in India. The *dīk* is attached to the *quṭb*.

Milqāṭ - tweezers of brass or iron, used for removing the charcoal from the charcoal holder (*mawqid*) to place it on the heaped pipe-bowl.

Malaṭṭ - the wooden tobacco-box with a hinged lid sometimes inset with pieces of mother of pearl. A tobacco pouch is a *kīs*.[233]

Qāḍī Ismā'īl cites several proverbial sayings[234] drawn from smoking. *'Khiyār mā yakhluq Allāh 'immār*[235]*min kīs ghayr-ak,* The best things that Allāh has created—a fill (of the pipe) from some other person's pouch.' *"Ammir wa-jammir*[236] *wa-rabb-ak bā yijallī-hā,* Fill (your pipe) and light it with a red-hot ember and your Lord will show hot it is.' The sense is that one should look on the bright side of things and not bother about the difficulties of life which God will remove. On the other hand, *'Lā*

224 Ibid, II, 526—*al-Idrāk li-ḍu'f adillat taḥrīm al-tunbāk.*
225 Muḥ. al-Nūr Ḍayfullāh, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, al-Kharṭūm, 1971, 52, discusses the Mālikī prohibition of the use of tobacco.
226 *Nashr al-'arf*, II, 642 seq.
227 Ismā'īl al-Akwa', *al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 44.
228 Ibid, I, 321, nos. 936, 937.
229 Ismā'īl al-Akwa', unpublished proverbs. For the *khādim*, see *Commoners, Climbers and Notables*, ed. van Nieuwenhuijze, Leiden, 1977, 233.
230 The *miwaqqir* used to renew the *khushūnat al-maṭḥan* (*al-raḥā*), its roughness, when worn smooth. In this the Jews used to be the specialists.
231 *La-qad 'annafū-nī fi 'l-dukhāni wa-shurbi-hi*
Fa-qultu da'u 'l-ta'nīfa fa-'l-amru ahwajā
Alā inna Shayṭāna 'l-humūmi bi-ṣadri-nā
Muqim-un fa-dakhkhannā 'alay-hi li-yukhrajā.
232 *Nashr al-'arf*, I, 683.
233 Cf. *Jemenica*, 152, no. 1146.
234 These are unpublished.
235 *'Immār*—putting the tobacco in the *būrī*, placing a hot coal on top of it, then placing the *būrī* on top of the *madā'ah* (*mid'ī*).
236 *'Ammar wa-jammar* might be read.

timakkin[237] *mawla'ī yilaṣṣī lak, wa-lā 'azab yakhṭub lak,* Don't get a tobacco addict[238] to light (your pipe) for you, nor an unmarried man to ask in betrothal on your behalf!'

There is an amusing tale of a Ḥaḍramī who went to Jeddah and took service with a merchant. The merchant told him to change (*ghayyar*) the pipe—meaning to change the water. The Ḥaḍramī, in whose dialect 'change' meant 'break', asked if the merchant really meant *'ghayyar'*. 'Certainly', was the reply, but the merchant was astonished when the servant started to smash the pipe!

In Ṣan'ā', indeed everywhere in northern Yemen one sees on the ground the dried yellow trace of expectorated snuff, *burdaqān* or *burtuqān*, which all classes, but especially the tribesmen, keep as a quid in the mouth, though it can be taken by sniffing. Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad al-'Aẓm[239] saw snuff manufactories in Ṣan'ā' in the days of Imām Yaḥyā—mud houses with a number of small rooms in each of which were three or four handmills operated each by a Jewish girl or woman wearing bands of cloth to prevent the snuff from going up their noses. For working from sunrise to midday, when they rested and ate, then continuing till sunset, they were paid a quarter *riyāl*. A little dust (called *duqduqah*)[240] was added to the tobacco to make the snuff, and the tobacco itself imported by the large merchants from Aden and Suez in quite considerable quantities. Qāḍī Ismā'īl's proverb,[241] *'Lā tiftaḥ ḥuqqat-ak bayn ahl Khawlān,* Don't open your snuff-box when you are among Khawlānīs,' expresses their particular fondness for it, for if you do open your snuff-box all present will ask for a pinch—this is taken with the thumb and forefinger.

Types of tobacco known to the Yemen, apart from that imported from abroad, are *al-tutun al-Ḥamūmī* (which grows in the Tihāmah at al-Zaydiyyah),[242] *al-Ḥimyarī,*[243] and *al-Khabtī.*[244] *Al-Ḥimyarī,* I was told, is supposed to be an indigenous variety that grew in the Yemen before tobacco came from America—al-Sayāghī calls it *tutun aswad.* This does not seem very likely. In Imām Yaḥyā's day, Nazīh[245] considered the *tutun* and *tumbāk* growing in various parts of the Yemen to be poor varieties for which imported stock might be substituted.

At the close of the 13th/19th century the Ottoman Turks imposed their Régie des Tabacs, attempting to create a Government monopoly. This giving 'authority to the Christian Italian over the Muslims and granting him the farming of tobacco (*taqbīl al-tutun al-tunbāk*), his taking all the tobacco found in the Ṣan'ā' tobacconists' shops and his prohibiting them from selling it' gave rise to disturbances in the city. A body of the townsfolk met and went up to the Wālī (Governor) Aḥmad Fayḍī/Fayzī to refer the matter to him, and it was in turn referred to Constantinople. The reply from there confirmed the grant of the tobacco farming to the Italian and prohibition of selling tobacco except under licence from him. 'Through this,' says Zabārah,[246] 'the Italian acted in an overbearing fashion to the Muslims, and even placed his assistants at the Gates of the city of Ṣan'ā' to search anyone entering and seize all tobacco they came upon on his person.' This is evidently a reference to the Caprotti[247] brothers. It is interesting to read that one of the Italians going to collect the tobacco at Manākhah in 1895-6 was killed, more or less by chance, by tribesman at al-Ḥaymah after a courageous resistance, and his riding animals sent by them to the Imām in the mountains.

The tobacco monopoly imposed by the Ottomans was keenly resented by the Yemenis for, according to Zabārah,[248] 'the merchant would purchase a holding of Kāzirūn (tobacco) and the like, and from him more than its price would be taken—so that he was obliged to put what was taken from him onto the price, plus expenses (*makhāsīr*), and sell it to poor folk (*ḍu'afā'*) at several times its (original) price so that his merchandise for a hundred *riyāls* would get sold at over two hundred and fifty *riyāls.*'

Nowadays there is a lively smuggling of cigarettes from Sa'ūdī Arabia into northern Yemen—this seems to contradict the idea that tobacco is not a profitable article of commerce to move from place to place as expressed in the proverb, 'Kāzirūn—they lose—every time the donkey farts it loses a *raṭl* (in weight)'[249] Kāzirūn is presumably tobacco imported from the town of that name in the Fars province of Persia, and since travellers record that the Yemen imported Persian tobacco[250] long before the second Ottoman occupation the proverb itself may be quite old.

Spices, Condiments, Cosmetics

At the main entrance to the old city from the recent Shāri' 'Abd al-Mughnī, there used to be stalls selling spices, condiments and cosmetics—by 1975 these had been moved to the high open bank forming the east side of the Sā'ilah, about half a dozen stalls at most, with an identical range of commodities. Samples of each item were purchased for the stall at the Ṣan'ā' Exhibition.[251] These were:

Turmeric (*hurud*) - 3 *ūqiyyah* for a *riyāl.*

Pounded pepper (*filfil madqūq*) - half a *raṭl* for 4 *riyāls,* but it was probably usually sold locally by a *waqiyyah* for 20 *buqshahs.*

Pepper corns (*filfil*) - a *waqiyyah* for 20 *buqshahs.*

Cummin (*kammūn*) - a *raṭl* for a *riyāl.*

Potash (*ḥuṭum*),[252] made from burning the *'aṣal* plant, used for washing clothes - a *raṭl* for two *riyāls.*

Walnuts (*jawz Hindī*), used in tea - sold by the nut, 30 *ḥabbahs* for 3 *riyāls.*

Saffron (*'aṣfūr*), price not recorded, used to colour food.

Cardamoms (*hayl*), 2 *ūqiyyahs* for 5 *riyāls*, a flavouring.

Cloves (*zirr*), 1 *ūqiyyah* for 2½ *riyāls.*

Black cummin (*quḥṭah* or *ḥabbah sawdā'*), sold by the heaped *nafar* for 2½ *riyāls.*

Pounded fenugreek (*hulbah/ḥilbah madqūq*), a heaped *nafar* for 2 *riyāls.*

Pounded chillies (*shaṭṭah madqūq*) - a plastic bag for two *riyāls*, weight not recorded.

Pounded chillies (*bisbās madqūq*), as the previous.

Ammi, also called wild aniseed or Abyssinian cummin (*nakhwah*),

237 *Timakkin* means *tukallif.*

238 One can be *mawla'ī* of *qāt* or *tumbak,* or nowadays one says, of *khamr,* fondness for these is called *wil'ah.*

239 *Riḥlah,* I, 147-8.

240 Vocalisation uncertain.

241 Unpublished. The *ḥuqqah* used to be made of wood.

242 Ḥamūmī tobacco grows at Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût,* calls the tobacco and tribe Ḥumūmī.

243 *A'immat al-Yaman,* (2) II, 147.

244 This word might be derived from *khabt,* an uncultivated plain, or the *Gloss. daṭ., Khābit li-'l-tutun,* with a craving for tobacco, used in Dathīnah speech, with the same sense as *kharmah.* Al-'Arshī, *Bulūgh al-marām.* op. cit., 421. (al-Kirmilī's note).

245 Op. cit., II, 236.

246 *A'immat al-Yaman,* (2) II, 131, and 181.

247 Cf. pp.93b, 99a. The Caprotti brothers, Luigi and Giuseppe, came from Magenta. Luigi died aged 30 in 1889, but Giuseppe continued another 30 years importing Italian goods. A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen, Journal d'une excursion botanique faite en 1887,* Paris, 1889, 56, describes MM. Luigi et Giuseppe Caprotti, 'negociants italiens, représentants de la maison Mazzucchelli et Perera, me souhaitent la bienvenue et mettent gracieusement à ma disposition un spacieux et confortable appartement dans la maison qu'ils habitent près de la mosquée Salah el-Din. Réconforté par cet accueil si cordial, je procède gaiment à mon installation. Dans la soirée, assis à la table hospitalière des frères Caprotti, j'oublie, en vidant une verre de *vino spumante* d'Asti à la santé de mes aimables hôtes, et les fatigues du voyage et les mauvais procédés du Vali Aziz-Pacha.' Guiseppe's services to Yemenite literature in purchasing and preserving rare Mss. were indeed great. He had a circular Arabic seal of which I have an impression in red ink.

248 *A'immat al-Yaman,* (2), II, 66. Cf. A. K. S. Lambton, 'The Tobacco Régie: prelude to Revolution', *Studia Islamica,* XXII, 1965, 119-157, XXIII, 1967, 71-90.

249 *Kāzirūn Khāsirūn, idhā ḍaraṭa 'l-ḥimār naqaṣ raṭl.*

250 See p.187a, n.129.

251 Cf. *City of Ṣan'ā',* ed. James Kirkman, London, 1976, 23.

252 E. V. Stace, English-Arabic vocabulary, 127.

used in coffee (*qahwah*) - a quarter *raṭl* for 2 *riyāls.*
Fennel (*shamār*), used with coffee - a quarter *raṭl* for 2 *riyāls.*
Thyme (*za'tar*), 2 *nafars* for a *riyāl.*
Java incense (*bakhūr/bukhūr Jāwī*), for burning, - half a *raṭl* for 3½ *riyāls.*
Water incense (*bukhūr mā'*), for perfuming water pots or putting in drinking water - a quarter *raṭl* for 3½ *riyāls.*
Henna (*ḥinnā*), half a *raṭl* for 2½ *riyāls.*
Cinnamon (*qirfah*), a *waqiyyah* for a *riyāl.*
Tamarind (*tamar Hindī*), a plastic bag for a *riyāl,* weight not recorded. It is also called *ḥumar.*
Ginger (*zinjabīl*), half a *raṭl* for 6 *riyāls.*
Garlic (*thūmah*), a *raṭl* for 1½ *riyāls.*
Coriander (*kabzarah*), a *nafar* for 1½ *riyāls.*
Chillies (*bisbās*) loose, half a *raṭl* for 4 *riyāls.*
Ma'rib salt (*milḥ Ma'ribī*), 2 *raṭls* for 2 *riyāls.*
Shādhar, unidentified, but this is an ICI product, a white bar with a stamp in Arabic, sold either whole or by a piece broken off it. After henna has been applied to the skin, a mixture of *ḥuṭum*-potash and *shādhar* pounded together, is applied to the skin to turn the colour black.

Most of these commodities are sold by the small measure called *nafar,* but they also sell some by the *rub' nafar, thumn nafar,* and *thumn al-thumn* if the customer wishes. As *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* commends, the salesman usually adds a little extra to ensure that he is not selling short measure. For weights lumps of metal, not stamped cast weights are commonly used.